

The Period Between the Testaments

BETWEEN the close of the Old Testament and the beginning of the narrative of the New Testament stretches a period of approximately four centuries. An understanding of the vicissitudes through which the Jews passed during this time, with special emphasis on their history under the later Seleucid rulers and during the years that witnessed the rise of Roman power in the Mediterranean, is necessary to a proper appreciation of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels. This article summarizes briefly the experiences of the Jews under the waning power of Persia and during the protracted struggle for control of the Palestine between the Seleucids to the north and the Ptolemies to the south. More detailed consideration is given to developments growing out of attempts by Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize the Jews, to the extension of Roman power throughout the Mediterranean world, and to the political situation in Palestine under the Hasmonaeans and under the Herod the Great.

I. The Jews Under the Persians During the 4th Century

Nehemiah and After.—Historical records of the Jews during the 5th century B.C. have been scanty, but extra-Biblical evidence is gradually coming to light. According to the Elephantine papyri Johanan was high priest in 410 B.C. and a Persian by the name of Bagoas (Bagoses, Bagohi, Bigvai) was appointed governor of Judea at least by 407 B.C. (Olmstead thinks he was Nehemiah's successor). This Bagoas, mentioned in the Elephantine papyri as the governor of Judea in the days of Sanballat (and therefore of Nehemiah), lived nearly a century earlier than the eunuch Bagoas who was a commander of Artaxerxes III against Egypt and who later became Persia's kingmaker. It is possible to harmonize the incidents connected with Nehemiah's governorship, involving several men who later became high priests (see Vol. III, pp. 79, 80), and the statements of Josephus about Bagoas and Johanan, etc.

The Persians did not interfere with the Jewish religion, although the Zoroastrians, to whom fire was sacred, felt it was a desecration to burn flesh in the flames. This may possibly be one of the reasons why Bagoas had put a fine of 50 drachmas on every lamb offered on the Temple altar in Jerusalem, although the quarrel with the Jewish high priest would seem a sufficient reason. In Egypt the Jews of Elephantine offered sacrifices in their temple (see Vol. III, pp. 81-83) until it was destroyed by the Egyptians. In the Egypt the Persian dislike of animal sacrifices would be supported by the Egyptians, who worshiped some of the animals offered by the Jews in Elephantine. When the local ruler was absent, therefore, the Egyptians destroyed this Jewish temple. It lay in ruins for some time while the Jews sought, first through Johanan, then through Bagoas, for permission to rebuild. Bagoas, in giving this permission, authorized only meal offerings and incense for the new temple.

Dangers to the Jewish Religion.—The returned Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes I were probably acquainted with the teaching of Zoroastrianism, since it was the official religion of the Persian Empire. Nehemiah and other leaders probably realized the necessity of exercising care lest the common people confuse the worship of Jehovah with that of Ahura-Mazda. Both Persians and Jews believed that there would come a great judgment day, when the God of righteousness would vanquish the adversary of all good, and that then the righteous would be given a blessed abode under new conditions. The Persians arranged their two opposing spirits, the righteous Ahura-Mazda, and the evil Ahriman, in a dualism that tended to make them equal. The Jews, through their sacred

literature, spoke much of one eternal all-powerful God, and very little of a distinctly inferior evil adversary who had at one time been created perfect (Eze. 28:14–19), but who later became the author of all sin.

A Rival Religion in Samaria.—The Jews returning to Jerusalem were opposed when they tried to set up standards of worship at variance with the popular concepts of the half-pagan peoples who had settled in the land (see Vol. II, pp. 949, 950; Vol. III, p. 69) during the Captivity. Thinking of them as narrow and bigoted fanatics, Sanballat and Tobiah made every effort to thwart their plans. A son of Joiada the priest was banished by Nehemiah because of his marriage to the daughter of Sanballat. This may have been the Manasseh mentioned by Josephus (see on Neh. 13:28, 29), whom Sanballat of Samaria welcomed and made priest of a rival Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. The result was a rival Samaritan cult, which is mentioned in the New Testament (John 4:20), and still survives in a remnant numbering a few hundred souls.

The Development of Jewish Tradition.—Such opposition as that of the Samaritans gave great impetus to the study and exaltation of the Torah (Pentateuch) on the part of the Jews, who set about strictly enforcing all its requirements. Synagogues were established throughout the land. Readings from the Scriptures, presented in the Sabbath services, were translated or explained in Aramaic, which had become, during the Exile, the spoken language of the people (see Vol. I, pp. 29, 30). Through these explanations the rabbis guided the minds of the laity in what were considered proper interpretations of the Torah. Under such conditions it was not at all strange that a body of traditional interpretation of the Scriptures gradually grew up, although the leaders disagreed among themselves on points of doctrine and procedure. Revived Jewish nationalism had driven them to study their sacred books, but they became confused as to the correct meaning of Scripture. Instead of laying aside their preconceived opinions and letting the Spirit of God guide them into all truth, they hewed out for themselves broken cisterns of error from which to drink. These false concepts paved the way for the rejection of Christ by the leaders of His day. Here were laid the foundations of a complex body of tradition (see Vol. V, pp. 95–100) that was to dominate Jewish religion through subsequent centuries.

The Tradition of Jaddua and Alexander.—For the reigns of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), 405/04—359/58 B.C., and Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 359/58—338/37, when Johanan and Jaddua were high priests, there are few records concerning the Jews. Without doubt antagonism continued.

Josephus mentions an incident connected with the campaign of Alexander, which, though many scholars label it unhistorical, is here given because of its possible bearing on Daniel's prophecy of Greece, and because it is not inherently impossible if an early date for Daniel is accepted.

The story goes (Josephus *Antiquities* xi. 8. 4, 5 [325–339]) that from Tyre Alexander went to Jerusalem en route to Egypt and was shown the prophecy of Daniel (probably ch. 8:21); that he was so impressed by it that he granted the Jews great favors, not only for themselves but also for their kinsfolk in lands he might conquer in the future (see Vol. III, pp. 372, 373). It is true that Josephus, referring to Sanballat and Darius III as contemporaries, confuses this story with the one about the marriage of Sanballat's daughter to a son of Joiada (Neh. 13:28), but it is not impossible that this or another Jaddua was high priest in Alexander's time and that such an incident could have occurred. God could direct Alexander as easily as He could Cyrus in the days of Daniel.

Another incident led to Alexander's bestowal of favors on the Jews. The Samaritan leaders burned to death the governor, Andromachus, whom Alexander had stationed in Samaria to administer all Coele-Syria and Palestine. Upon his return from Egypt, Alexander avenged this outrage, gave certain border territory claimed by Samaria to the Jews, and granted them other privileges.

II. Rise of the Greeks and Macedonians

The Greek Background.—Historically, the peoples living in Greece, on the islands of the Aegean Sea, and on the west coast of Asia Minor formed part of the successive waves of Indo-European peoples who came from the northeast in the 2d millennium B.C. (see on Dan. 2:39). By the close of the 6th century a democratic form of city-state government was developed in Greece. Each city was a direct, not a representative, democracy, in which all citizens met to vote on all issues. This was possible because each body of citizens was small (slaves and "strangers" of nonnative descent, who had no political or social standing, formed the majority). These small, independent Greek states, which were developing democratic principles of administration, eventually challenged the autocratic power of Persia.

The Persian War With Greece.—The Ionian Greek settlements on the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea, formerly under Lydia, were incorporated into the Persian Empire along with Lydia, though it took many years to reduce them to Persian control. Half a century after Cyrus the aid furnished to the revolting Ionians by the European Greeks evoked the vengeance of Persia. The city-states in Greece, which had proved themselves incapable of any long-term concerted action because of bitter jealousies and intrigues, were thus driven to work together in the face of the Persian threat. The campaigns of Darius I and Xerxes against the Greeks ended in failure, first at Marathon in 490 B.C., later, in 480, at Salamis, and, in 479, at Plataea (see on Dan. 11:2; also Vol. III, pp. 59-61). About the same time the Persians suffered serious losses at Mycale on the Ionian coast. Thus Greece was saved from the Persian Empire, and the Greeks of Ionia (the Aegean Islands and the west coast of Asia Minor) joined in a defensive league with the Athens and other Greek city-states that had participated in the Persian defeat. This period of Athenian leadership was the Golden Age of Greek culture. In 431 began the Peloponnesian War, which spanned more than 25 years, in which Athens and Sparta struggled for supremacy and both were supplanted by Thebes. This war weakened the Greek states still further and gave Persia an opportunity to play off Greek against Greek.

Alexander's Conquest of the Persian Empire

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¹Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.



While Greece proper was embroiled in conflict the semi-Greek country of Macedonia to the north became a monarchical state and sought to expand its territory. About the time that Artaxerxes III (Ochus) became king of Persia, 23-year-old Philip II came to the throne of Macedonia and started the formation of a national army. He soon gained supremacy over nearly all of Greece. But before his plan for a united Greek-Macedonian attack on Persia could be executed, Philip was assassinated.

Alexander the Great.—Philip left the torch of conquest to be carried by his 20-year-old son, Alexander the Great (see on Dan. 2:39; 7:6). Within two years of his accession Alexander was able to secure the backing of all Greece and Macedonia in an alliance against the Persian Empire. With his Macedonian army he pushed eastward around the Aegean, crossed the Hellespont, and won his first important battle at the Granicus River (334). He then rapidly deprived Persia of her source of revenue from all Asia Minor. Darius, coming up the Euphrates, met him at Issus, near the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. There the Persians were routed (333). Alexander next pushed on through Syria and Palestine, taking all the main cities (in 332 Tyre stood a seven-month siege). He marched toward Egypt, assured of a warm reception, for that country had despised Persian control since the days when their cities and temples had been so ruthlessly destroyed. Gladly the Egyptians threw their gates open to Alexander as their liberator (332) and crowned him as Pharaoh. He, in turn, joined them in their worship of Egyptian deities. Egypt acclaimed him as a god and offered him worship as the true son of Amen-Ra. He founded Alexandria and then returned, in the spring of 331, through Syria to push on eastward.

Crossing the Euphrates and the Tigris, he met Darius and his army in October, 331, on the plain of Gaugamela in a battle more popularly known by the name of the neighboring town of Arbela. Here the Persian forces met a disastrous defeat, Darius himself fleeing to Ecbatana in Media. Then in rapid succession came the surrender of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. After burning Persepolis, Alexander started to Ecbatana in pursuit of Darius, early in 330, only to find that he had escaped to the east. Pursuing farther, Alexander found only the corpse of the great king, who had been slain by his own men.

He gave Darius a royal burial, and then proceeded with his expedition, going as far as the Jaxartes and Indus rivers during the next three years. In 326 he crossed the Indus and penetrated northern India as far as his men would follow him, then returned via the coast (325) to Susa, where celebrations were held at the founding of a new world monarchy (324) designed to fuse East and West through Greek civilization. To cement the union of Greek and Persian peoples, Alexander and some of his Macedonian officers took Persian wives. He founded many Greek cities over the vast empire. In 323 the king was in Babylon to supervise the organization of an Arabian expedition, and while there contracted a fever that proved fatal. He died June 13, 323 B.C., having reigned in Philip's place for slightly less than 13 years.

While changing the face of the world in so short a time he had not tried to change the religion of his conquered peoples. Persian Zoroastrianism continued, and has lived on through the centuries. The Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, kept their religions. But the thinking of mankind in the whole Mediterranean world was affected by the spread of Hellenic ideas and by Alexander's concept of a world empire of united races and peoples with a common language, literature, and culture. The Hellenistic period, ushered in by Alexander, paved the way for the Greco-Roman civilization, in which Judaism was modified and Christianity developed into a worldwide faith.

III. Alexander's Successors and the Dissolution of His Kingdom

Alexander's Heirs Under Regents.—The administration of the Persian territory just conquered was not easy task. Alexander's generals agreed to place on the throne Philip Arrhidaeus, the feeble-minded half brother of Alexander, as joint king with the infant Alexander, son of the Bactrian princess Roxana, born after his father's death. Macedonian leaders (mostly Alexander's generals) were appointed as governors throughout the empire. The conflicting interests of the generals, of Alexander's widow Roxana, of his mother Olympias, and of partisans of Philip Arrhidaeus led to a decade of wars and intrigue. For a summary of the struggles that went on among these successors of Alexander, see Vol. IV, pp. 824, 825.

Antigonus Makes Strongest Bid for Empire.—In the long and complex struggle for power among numerous contending "successors," the issues tended to center in the attempt of Antigonus to gain and keep the power for himself. His chief opponents—Cassander in Macedonia, Ptolemy in Egypt, and Lysimachus in Thrace—formed an alliance proposed by Seleucus. After the struggle reached a stalemate in 312–311 B.C., the settlement of 311 left the principal territories of the empire in the hands of these five leaders (see The Principal Territories in Alexander's Empire). The next decade was filled with confusion of all kinds. Cassander put to death the child-king Alexander and his mother Roxana. For the attempt of Antigonus to win the whole empire for himself and for his ensuing struggle against Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, (see

Alexander's Empire Divided into Four Kingdoms.) This struggle came to a climax in 301 at the decisive battle at Ipsus in Phrygia, which the four allies won. Antigonos was slain and his territory divided.

The Fourthfold Division of the Empire.—Thus, in 301, the question of a united empire versus separate kingdoms was settled (see Alexander's Empire Divided into Four Kingdoms). The strongest bid for unity had failed. In place of Alexander's one empire there were four independent Macedonian kingdoms, plus minor fragments (chiefly in Asia Minor). Seleucus' territory extended from Asia Minor nearly to the Indus, with capitals at Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria, and Seleucia on the Tigris, near the present city of Baghdad. Ptolemy of Egypt had regained the districts of Palestine and southern Syria. Lysimachus had not only Thrace but also a large portion of northwestern Asia Minor. Cassander held Macedonia and was busy trying to consolidate all of Greece. Demetrius' scattered holdings could not be considered a fifth kingdom.

IV. The Hellenistic Kingdoms

It would be profitless to follow the rivalries, wars, and intrigues between these Hellenistic kingdoms and the family quarrels of their Macedonian ruling houses, whose complex intermarriages and changing alliances confuse the picture with similar names and petty details. A mere outline of the principal developments must suffice, to show how the four kingdoms became three and later fell one by one to Rome. See Vol. IV, pp. 824, 825.

Lysimachus' Kingdom Eliminated.—Not many years after the battle at Ipsus, in 301, Lysimachus gained control of two of the four divisions of the empire as they had been settled upon in 301—the western and the northern. But Lysimachus was defeated and killed in a war with Seleucus in 281, after which Ptolemy Ceraunus snatched the fruits of victory from the winner. In 280 he assassinated the victorious Seleucus, and seized Macedonia. Thus, although Seleucus briefly held the title to three of the four divisions, he actually never occupied Macedonia. His death left his son Antiochus I with what had been territories of Seleucus and Lysimachus. Macedonia was ruled by the house of Antigonos for more than a century, until it became a protectorate of Rome at the close of the third Macedonian war in 168 B.C., and finally a province of Rome in 146.

The Four Kingdoms Reduced to Three.—Thus within about 40 years after Alexander's death, and 20 years after the division at Ipsus, his vast territory had passed through the hands of many claimants. Now, all the empire, except minor fragments, was under the control of three dynasties of Macedonian blood. The house of Ptolemy ruled Egypt; the house of Antigonos, replacing that of Cassander, had taken over Macedonia; the house of Seleucus held the east and the former territory of Lysimachus in the north (see Three Principal Kingdoms of Alexander's Empire, and The Hellenistic Empires).

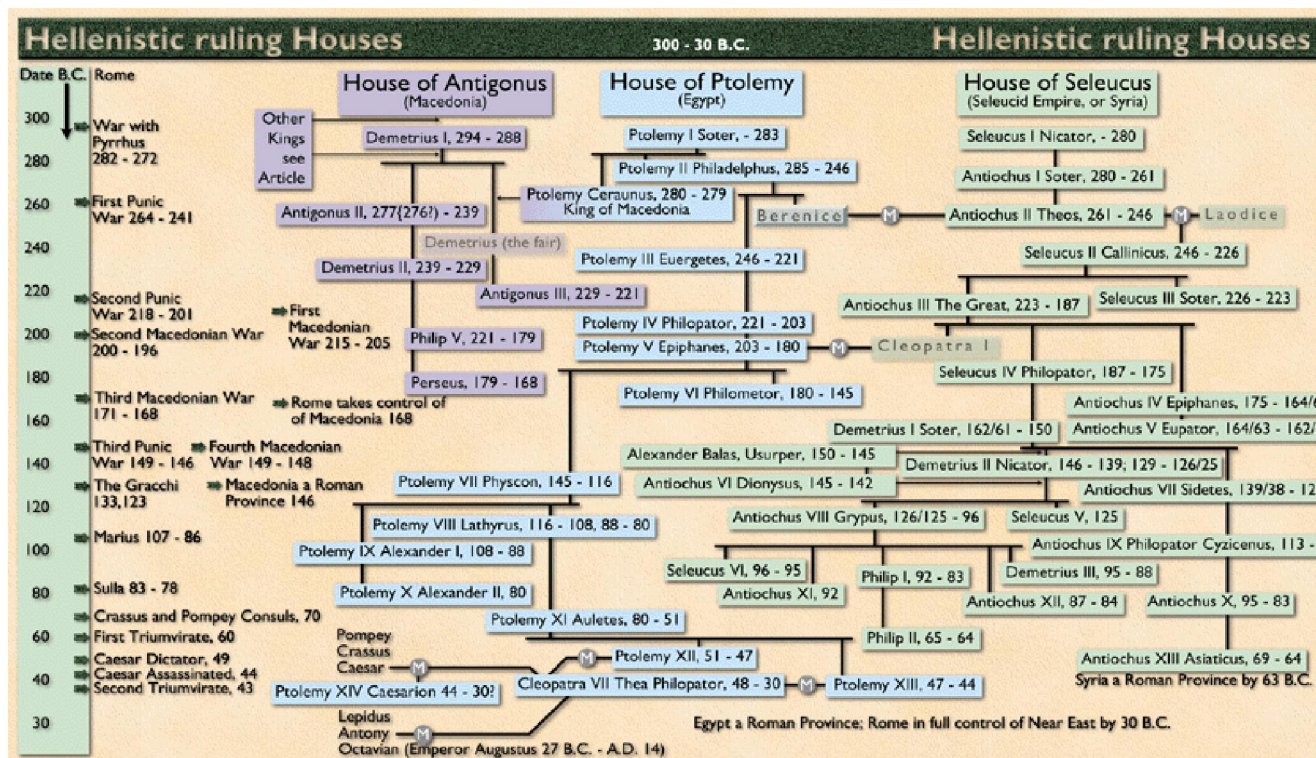
In 279 the invading Gauls, an eastern wave of the barbarians well known by that name in Roman history, entered Macedonia and Greece, whence they were driven out. Some of them overran large parts of Asia Minor. Harbored by local kings who wished to harass the rulers of the Seleucid line, they plundered the country for many years and extorted tribute. Finally after nearly half a century they were decisively defeated by the ruler of Pergamum, which later became the most important of the small states that grew out of fragments of Lysimachus' empire. Henceforth these Gauls were confined to the region of Asia Minor that took its name, Galatia, from them. This later became the

Roman province in which Paul founded various churches and to which he wrote the epistle to the Galatians (see Introduction to Galatians in Vol. VII).

Although these small states retained their separate existence, nearly all the territory of Alexander's empire remained under the three strong Hellenistic kingdoms, Macedonia, Egypt, and the Seleucid empire (the last is often called Syria, because Antioch became its principal capital and its territory later shrank to Syria alone). These three kingdoms dominated the eastern Mediterranean until they were absorbed successively as provinces of the Roman Empire. Accordingly, many brief histories omit mention of the earlier fourfold division of Alexander's empire and refer only to the final stage of three kingdoms.

Palestine, situated on the corridor between Egypt and the Seleucid empire, remained for many years a bone of contention between "the king of the south" and "the king of the north." Hence the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucid kings (see Hellenistic Ruling Houses) are more important to Biblical studies than Macedonia. Palestine was under the Ptolemies until about 200 B.C., when it fell to Seleucid control.

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Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Antiochus I and II.—Ptolemy II Philadelphus hoped to take Syria and make it, along with Palestine, a buffer state against aggression from the Seleucid empire. In 272 B.C. he forced Seleucus' successor, Antiochus I (280–262/61), to give him control of much of the coastal lands in Asia Minor and Syria. For another

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decade Ptolemy aided Greece in its unsuccessful effort against Macedonian rule; then he signed a peace treaty with Antigonos II of Macedonia.

V. Palestine Under Hellenistic Rule

Palestine Under the Ptolemies.—Soon after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy made Syria and Palestine tributary to Egypt. Antigonos subjugated these districts temporarily, and Palestine changed hands several times before 301. In this time of change and uncertainty many Jews left Palestine to settle in the new city of Alexandria, where the Jewish population eventually formed a large self-governing segment of that cosmopolitan capital, and became Hellenized to the extent of needing the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek.

After the Battle of Ipsus in 301, where Antigonos was slain, Syria fell to Seleucus; but Palestine, which Ptolemy had occupied, was left to Egypt, though Seleucus never gave up his claim to it. Judea learned to take advantage of the opportunity for intrigue with both sides. Under the Ptolemies the chief cities of Phoenicia and Palestine were considerably Hellenized, and new cities were established, with Greek forms of government. But Jerusalem remained the center of a Jewish state under the civil as well as the religious leadership of the high priest, who was the representative of the people in dealing with the king. There was also a council of elders derived, as some think, from the assembly of Nehemiah's day. Thus the lives of the people were still regulated by Jewish laws and customs, although there began a gradual process of absorption of Hellenism from the use of the Greek language and the contacts with the officials and the Greek settlers in the cities. This, however, developed slowly, and reached a climax under Antiochus IV (see Sec. VII).

From the beginning there was a constant war of intrigue and diplomacy, as well as intermittent fighting, among the three houses of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Antigonos. In this struggle Ptolemy II Philadelphus relied on Palestine as a buffer state against Seleucus, hence his liberal gifts to the Jews.

Being literary-minded, Ptolemy II, with his counselors, began to collect books from other nations for his great library in Alexandria. Men of letters were welcomed in the city. According to Josephus, the king, at the request of the chief librarian, asked the high priest Eleazar to send Palestinian scholars to make a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus the translation was begun that is now called the Septuagint. It is uncertain whether the version was made for an official presentation to the Alexandrian library or whether it was produced privately for the Alexandrian Jews. Only the Pentateuch was translated then, and other portions of the Old Testament canon were added later (see Vol. I, p. 39).

Josephus tells us that one of the Ptolemies made Joseph, a nephew of the high priest Onias I, tax collector for the whole area of Palestine, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and showered favors upon him. Palestine was left largely to its own devices so long as the taxes were paid and the Egyptian authority recognized. Little is known of the details of this period, but it is evident that the Jews fared better than later, when the Seleucids took over the country. Yet there arose a party which was to give Palestine into the hands of the Seleucid house, little realizing what the future held for them.

In 221, the year in which Ptolemy III was succeeded by Ptolemy IV Philopator, Antiochus III (the Great) came into Palestine on his way against Egypt, but the venture was a failure. In 219 he took Seleucia on the Mediterranean. In 218 he succeeded in

placing garrisons in various places in Palestine. In 217 Egypt met and defeated him in Raphia, south of Gaza. Tradition has it that Ptolemy IV visited Jerusalem, outraged the Jews by going into the holy of holies, and was smitten with superstitious terror. Egypt held Palestine for another decade or so. The invasions of Egyptian territory and the native uprisings within Egypt give clear evidence of the inefficiency of Ptolemy IV's administration. His death came just about the time when Rome and Philip V of Macedonia were signing a treaty of peace, and when Antiochus, who had been strengthening himself in Asia, was returning to Antioch.

In 203 Ptolemy IV was succeeded by his son Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who was only four years old. Egypt sought the help of Rome, but Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochus made an alliance against Ptolemy, and the Seleucid forces penetrated Palestine for the third time. In a decisive battle in 201/200 near Panium, not far from Mt. Hermon, the Egyptian forces were defeated. The result was that Egypt permanently lost Palestine to the Seleucid empire.

Palestine Under the Seleucid Empire.—The Jews had changed masters, and it soon became clear that they did not profit thereby. The comparatively lenient policy of the Ptolemies was replaced by a closer supervision, a greater demand for taxes, interference in the appointment of the high priests, and later by religious persecution.

Antiochus III, who had come to the throne at a time when the Seleucid empire was weak, succeeded in extending its territory approximately to the original boundaries. Soon after he conquered Palestine he was confronted with the opposition of Rome, which was alarmed by his growing power and his alliance with Philip V of Macedonia. In 190 at Magnesia in Asia Minor, Antiochus was decisively defeated by Rome. He lost Asia Minor permanently and paid a large indemnity. One consequence of this was increased taxes extracted from Palestine. It is said that Antiochus' successor, Seleucus IV Philopator, trying to raise money to pay the Romans, attempted to confiscate the Temple treasure, but that his envoy, Heliodorus, was frightened off by supernatural apparitions (2 Macc. 3:6–39).

The successor of Seleucus IV was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, notorious as the persecutor of the Jews. His efforts to conquer Egypt were blocked by Rome; his unsuccessful struggles with the Jews helped to weaken his empire within. From his time on there was a gradual decline, and a century later his kingdom was absorbed by the Roman Empire. Since Rome held an increasingly dominant position in the East in the time of Antiochus III and IV, it is necessary to turn attention to this new Western power before proceeding with the period of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

VI. The Rise of Rome to Dominance

The Early Growth of Rome.—Rome, originally composed of several independent tribes living on a cluster of seven hills, became a city-state ruled by elective kings, with a senate or council of elders and an assembly representing the people. By about 500 B.C. the king was replaced by two consuls elected annually. During the 5th century the laws were codified. One important step in the rise of the common people was the appointment of tribunes of the people, officers who enjoyed personal inviolability and who had the power of veto over the magistrates in defense of the common people. During the time of Alexander's conquests to the east and the division of his empire among his successors, Rome was occupied with internal political struggles and with territorial expansion in Italy.

Soon after the conquest of Italy was complete Rome became involved in a protracted struggle with Carthage, a Phoenician colony on the North African coast that now loomed as Rome's most dangerous rival. Rome had formed alliances with districts all along the coast of Africa as far west as Spain and held a good portion of Sicily, where the war with Carthage (known as the First Punic War) began. It took Rome 23 years (264–241) to bring Carthage to her knees. The victor imposed a heavy indemnity and took Sicily, which became the first Roman province.

Soon after the peace treaty Carthage aroused Rome's jealousy and alarm by gaining a strong foothold in Spain. This led to the Second Punic War (218–201), as a result of which Carthage gave up Spain and most of her navy, paid heavy tribute, and promised not to make war without Rome's permission.

Roman Intervention in Macedonia.—By 200 B.C., with Carthage, her only genuine rival, no longer a menace, Rome had become mistress of the western Mediterranean. The acquisition of foreign provinces gave her the beginnings of a genuine empire. Rome did not at first seek new territories in the East. But she was the strongest power in the Mediterranean; and in her efforts to protect herself, her trade, and her allies, she was drawn into one local issue after another until eventually she became acknowledged conqueror of the whole Mediterranean world.

In the step-by-step acquisition of the remains of Alexander's empire, Rome's first involvement was with Macedonia during the Second Punic War. Philip V of Macedonia attempted to assist Carthage, but Rome prevented this and formed alliances with certain Greek states and with Pergamum against Philip. This First Macedonian War (215–205) was followed by the Second Macedonian War (200–196). Rome defeated Macedonia at Cynoscephalae (197), and declared all Greece free. By breaking the power of Macedonia, Rome had merely weakened the rival of the Seleucid kingdom, and henceforth had to reckon with Antiochus III (the Great).

Rome and Antiochus the Great.—While Rome and Philip were occupied in warfare, and Egypt was torn by native uprisings, Antiochus the Great invaded Syria and Palestine. With the battle at Panium, 201/200, Egypt had forever lost control of Palestine (see p. 26). It soon came completely under the rule of the house of Seleucus, and the fortunes of the Jews took a turn for the worse.

As soon as Antiochus had made peace with Egypt he invaded Greece, but was defeated at Thermopylae by the Romans and forced to flee back to Asia Minor. At Magnesia, near Smyrna, in 190, he was decisively defeated by the Romans. By the subsequent peace treaty the Seleucid kingdom had to pay a large indemnity, and to give up all its holdings west and north of the Taurus range. Rome did not keep this conquered territory, but gave it to her allies, principally Pergamum and Rhodes.

Rome Ends the Macedonian Kingdom.—Perseus, son of Philip V, was regarded as an enemy of Rome. Envoys sent to Macedonia kept returning with growing concern. Finally the murder of the king of Pergamum, while traveling in Greece, was made the occasion for a Third Macedonian War (171–168), in which, at the Battle of Pydna (168), Rome completely crushed Macedonia. She did not annex the territory, however, but divided it into four separate republics which she placed under her protection. Thus ended the ruling house of the Antigonids. The kingdom of Macedonia, one of the three surviving kingdoms of Alexander's former domain, was no more.

Rome and Antiochus IV Epiphanes.—After his defeat by Rome, Antiochus the Great sent his son Antiochus (later called Epiphanes) there as a hostage. Eventually, however, Antiochus Epiphanes took the throne (175) of the Seleucid empire. While Rome was busy with the Third Macedonian War (which ended the Macedonian kingdom in 168), she had to meet another attempt of the Seleucid house to gain control of the Near East. Antiochus Epiphanes marched against Egypt. He was about to take the country when the envoy of the victorious Romans arrived with an ultimatum requiring Antiochus to leave Egypt, then an ally under the protection of Rome. Antiochus, who well understood Roman military power, withdrew.

Thus by 168 B.C. Rome had conquered one of the three surviving Hellenistic kingdoms, assumed protection of the second, and repulsed the third by the mere word of an envoy, although she did not annex any of their territory until some years later. The frustrated Antiochus returned from Egypt and turned his attention to the Jews.

VII. Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jews

While in Greece Antiochus Epiphanes had become acquainted with Hellenic culture and was enamored of Greek sports, theatricals, and pageantry. When he came to power he was filled with dreams of uniting all the peoples of his empire by the common bond of Hellenistic culture. He made the mistake of trying to force what had until then been a natural and gradual development.

Gradual Hellenization of the Jews.—It has been mentioned that the Jews who settled in Alexandria, soon after it was founded, became Hellenized during the period of Ptolemaic rule over Palestine. There were Jews in the principal cities of the empire, and even in Palestine many cities became centers of Greek culture of a sort. Those who dealt closely with officials had to use the Greek language, and many among the upper classes in Judea, including the leading priests, adopted Hellenistic dress and customs. The younger minority felt that the old faith and morals were out of date, but the mass of the people were inclined to distrust the new ways. In opposition there grew up a conservative party that stood for the strict observance of Judaism according to the Torah. These conservatives came to be known as the Hasidim (Chasidim or Assideans), or pious ones (see p. 51). The cleavage between these two parties of Jews, the Hasidim and the Hellenists, became a major controversy after the Seleucids took over. Onias III, a high priest early in the Seleucid period, was conspicuously pious, and a contender for traditional Judaism against the Hellenizing trend.

Onias' brother Jason, a Hellenizer, bribed Antiochus to make him high priest in Onias' place, and then set out to make Jerusalem a Greek city. But in a few years Antiochus sold the high priesthood to a higher bidder, this time to Menelaus, who was not even of the priestly tribe, but a Benjamite, and therefore not in favor with the people. Strife between the supporters of the different factions in Jerusalem gave Antiochus an opportunity to intervene. Josephus tells how the Hellenizers went to Epiphanes informing him of their wish to adopt the Hellenistic mode of living that he was fostering, and requesting permission to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. This was particularly offensive to the conservatives, because in the gymnasium the athletes exercised in the nude, as did the Greeks. Soon the officials of the Temple were more interested in the public games than in the ministrations of their holy office. Greek names became popular. For example, Eliakim was changed to Alcimus, Joshua to Jason.

Hellenization Enforced by Antiochus.—It was on his return from a campaign against Egypt that Antiochus Epiphanes entered Jerusalem, where he was warmly welcomed by the liberals. According to 1 Maccabees this was in 170/69 B.C., but there is difference of opinion as to the dating of his Egyptian campaigns, and even as to the method used in 1 Maccabees of reckoning the Seleucid Era (see p. 25, note 2). It was at some time between 170 and 168 that Antiochus visited Jerusalem, and to show his appreciation of the Hellenizing leaders there, he put to death many of the conservatives and a few who wished to return to Egyptian sovereignty. He was even permitted to take many of the Temple treasures.

In 168, some think in order to same face after his humiliation by the Romans in Egypt, Epiphanes marched into Palestine, and entering Jerusalem by treachery, plundered the Temple, stopped the morning and evening sacrificial offering, erected an idolatrous altar before the Temple for the sacrifice of swine, burned some of the buildings, and destroyed portions of the city wall. He built a fortress south of the Temple area in the old City of David and placed a garrison there. He ordered the Jews to cease their worship of Jehovah and offer worship instead to the Olympian Zeus and Dionysus, to cease circumcision, to disregard the Sabbath, to use the pig as both an article of diet and a victim of sacrifice, and to destroy the Torah. Josephus adds (*Antiquities* xii. 5. 5 [257–264]) that when the Samaritans saw the disgrace of Jerusalem they went to Epiphanes, disavowing any relationship to the Jews and asking to be permitted to call their sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius. This was granted, and they were officially freed from any connection with the Jews. See on Dan. 11:14.

The Maccabees Revolt.—Finding that the faithful chose death rather than resistance on the Sabbath day, the troops of Antiochus martyred many. Not only the Hasidim (see p. 51), but the rank and file of the people stood against this religious persecution. But very soon the opposition took a new form at the town of Modein, 18 mi. (29 km.) northwest of Jerusalem, about midway to Joppa. When Mattathias, a man of the priestly lineage, was commanded as leader of his district to initiate the service ordered by the king, he refused. He and his five sons slew another Jew who offered the idolatrous sacrifice, and the Syrian guard as well. Then, leaving their town, they fled to the wilderness, where they were joined by hundreds of loyal Jews who determined to be true to their faith. They used armed resistance on any day of the week. Thus a war between the Jewish nationalists and the Seleucid house was begun that ended only when the Jews achieved a measure of independence.

Judas Maccabaeus Restores the Temple Worship.—On the death of Mattathias (167/66) the leadership fell to his son Judas, who took the surname Maccabaeus. Thus this family of patriots, originally the house of Hashmon (the Hasmonaeans), became known as the Maccabees. A Syrian army sent out to quell Judas was defeated in two encounters, of which the second took place near Beth-horon. Antiochus Epiphanes, called east because of a Parthian uprising, commissioned Lysias to act for him in his absence, and to continue the war against Judas. In the first encounter at Emmaus (166/65), Judas Maccabaeus repulsed the enemy. Then Lysias tried to come at Jerusalem from the south. Judas was victorious again at Beth-sur (165), a few miles southwest of Jerusalem. By the terms of peace arranged with Lysias, both Jewish factions were permitted to live in Jerusalem; Menelaus remained as high priest; the Temple was to be restored to the worship of God. All emblems of pagan worship were obliterated, and new burnt offering

altar was erected. On the 25th of Chisleu (165), Judas had the Temple rededicated, and that day has ever since been memorialized by the feast known today as Hanukkah (feast of lights), referred to in the New Testament as the Feast of the Dedication (John 10:22). See on Dan. 11:14.

Josephus says that the restoration of the Temple “took place on the same day on which, three years before, their holy service had been transformed into an impure and profane form of worship. For the Temple, after being made desolate by Antiochus, had remained so for three years” (*Antiquities* xii. 7. 6 [320]). This he connects with “the prophecy of Daniel,” without identifying it. But Daniel’s prophecy fits a Roman oppressor, not a Macedonian, and, further, it speaks of 2300 days (see Dan. 8:9–14). Those who try to make the text say that 2300 “evenings and mornings” mean 1,150 literal days cannot make the interval equal either exactly 3 1/2 years or 3 years.

Therefore, for several reasons, Daniel cannot refer to the trouble wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes, but to some other far-reaching event that seems to have eluded the search of many a student from the time of Christ on. (For a study of this question see on Dan. 8; 9.)

Antiochus Epiphanes found so much trouble in the east that he never returned to Antioch. Foiled in the attempt to loot the treasures in a temple of Nanai in Elymais, he escaped—unlike his father. Later he fell ill and died in Media (164/63). On his deathbed he appointed one of his associates, Philip by name, as regent for his young son, Antiochus V Eupator. When Philip returned to Antioch to contend with Lysias for the regency, he found that Lysias and the boy king had gone back to Palestine to quell factional uprisings. This time Lysias was engaged in defeating the forces of Judas at Bethzacharia, but just as he placed Jerusalem under siege he learned that Philip was already at Antioch claiming the regency. In the face of this threat Lysias hastily arranged terms of peace with Judas, whereby Menelaus the high priest was taken from office, brought to Antioch, and there put to death. Alcimus, who, though a descendant of Aaron, was not of the high priestly line, was appointed high priest in Menelaus’ place, but he was deposed by the people when it became known that he opposed Judas. The high priesthood thus suffered from the union of political with religious authority in one person.

There ensued conflict between Lysias and Philip for control of the boy king, revolts in the eastern provinces, and the arrival from Rome of Demetrius, son and rightful heir of Seleucus IV, who had 12 years before been cheated out of his throne by Antiochus IV. Warmly welcomed in Syria, Demetrius instigated the assassination of the boy king Antiochus V, thus depriving Lysias of his power, and as a result Demetrius I Soter gained the throne in 162/61.

Jews Seek Alliance With Rome.—Judas Maccabaeus sought to strengthen the Hasmonaean cause by securing the friendship of Rome. Probably in 161 he obtained a treaty intimating friendship without assuring assistance in case of internal warfare. On the request of the Jewish Hellenizers, Demetrius sent a force to garrison Jerusalem, and to confirm in the high priesthood Alcimus, leader of the Hellenistic party who had appealed to him for help. But the Hasmonaean bands still roamed the country, and won a victory over Nicanor at Adasa, near Beth-horon (162/61). Demetrius then sent a force large enough to crush the revolt. At Elasa, some ten miles north of Jerusalem, in 161, Judas Maccabaeus was killed. His brothers, with refugees from his army, fled to the desert. Both the Hasidim and the Hellenizers were tolerated under the Seleucid control. Alcimus

died the following year, and the office of high priest may have been vacant for several years, probably because of factional strife.

Jonathan in Michmash.—The Seleucid forces again returned in an attempt to destroy the Hasmonaean guerrillas. They fortified various cities, but found it more expedient to make peace with the new Maccabean leader, Jonathan, brother of Judas. Jonathan was given Michmash for the official residence of the Hasmonaean, where they could live independent of the Hellenistic forces in Jerusalem. Here he spent some years strengthening his hold on the conservatives among his people, and eventually dominated all Judea outside Jerusalem.

VIII. The Maccabean Struggle for Independence

Jonathan Gains Control of Judea.—The reign of Demetrius I did not last long. In a few years the upheavals in the Seleucid empire gave Jonathan an opportunity to strengthen the position of the Hasmonaean house and of Judea. Alexander Balas, a weakling sponsored by Attalus of Pergamum as the supposed son of Antiochus Epiphanes, was recognized by Rome and backed by Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt as claimant to the Seleucid throne against Demetrius I. In 153/52 he was established in Ptolemais, a port south of Tyre. Both rivals, seeking advantage through a buffer state in Palestine, offered inducements to Jonathan. Demetrius returned Jonathan's hostages, abandoned the garrisons in Judea, and finally offered complete freedom to the Hasmonaean. Not to be outdone, Alexander Balas, by making Jonathan high priest in 153, won his support. Soon Alexander Balas with his allies defeated and killed Demetrius. Jonathan, the new high priest, went to Ptolemais to the wedding of the new king to Ptolemy's daughter, Cleopatra Thea (grand-daughter of the first Cleopatra, but not one of the seven queens of Egypt who bore that name [see p. 24]). On this occasion Jonathan was made general and governor in Palestine. Thus the Maccabean, or Hasmonaean, house came into control of the Jewish nation in 151/50.

Jonathan Gains Foothold in Samaria.—When the youthful Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius I, the real scion of the Seleucid house, entered northern Syria to depose Alexander Balas, Jonathan stood for Balas against the governor of Coele-Syria, who espoused the cause of Demetrius. In this fighting Jonathan took Joppa, Ashdod, and Ashkelon. But Ptolemy now repudiated Alexander Balas and gave Cleopatra to Demetrius, whom he installed as Demetrius II in 146. In the ensuing war both Balas and Ptolemy were killed. Demetrius II was unable to rule with a strong hand. In spite of complaints to the king from the garrison in Jerusalem and from the liberal Jews, Jonathan appeased the young Demetrius with costly gifts, and so was victorious. He was confirmed as high priest and was given control of several important districts in Samaria.

In 145 B.C., Tryphon, a military leader from Apamea, marched against Antioch, forced Demetrius back to the coastal cities, and enthroned the infant son of Balas and Cleopatra Thea as Antiochus VI. Jonathan, thinking that this turn of affairs offered further opportunity for the advancement of a Jewish state, made alliance with Antiochus VI through Tryphon. About this time he sent a new envoy to the Senate at Rome in the hope of furthering the overtures made by Judas. Tryphon, making a pretense of friendliness, treacherously seized Jonathan and slew him, probably in 143/42; but, needing more men, Tryphon did not follow up this assassination. Returning to Antioch, he dethroned the child Antiochus VI and made himself dictator, but Demetrius II still held the coastal provinces.

Simon—High Priest, General, Prince.—Jonathan's brother Simon at once took charge of the Hasmonaeans at Jerusalem. In retaliation for the murder of his brother, Simon threw his support to Demetrius II. In return the Jewish state was practically made free, all arrears in tribute being remitted and future tribute abolished. The Seleucid garrison in Jerusalem was starved into submission, and the Jews considered that the last hindrance to their independence had been removed, in 143/42. At the time of the feasts of the sixth month in 141 the people in formal assembly conferred the high priesthood on the house of Hashmon, and Simon received the title "High Priest and General and Ethnarch (Ruler of the People) of God." The Jewish state was now politically independent, and it began to expand further with the conquest of Joppa and Gazara (Gezer).

Palestine in the Maccabean Period

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³Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.



In 141/40 Demetrius II went to fight the Parthians, and soon was taken prisoner. Realizing what a valuable hostage he would make, the Parthians showed him every courtesy and gave him a daughter of the Parthian king. In 139/38 his brother Antiochus Sidetes entered Syria, hoping to drive out Tryphon and restore the kingdom to the house of Seleucus. Cleopatra Thea, learning of her husband's marriage to a Parthian princess, gave her hand and her assistance to his brother, Antiochus. Tryphon then murdered the child Antiochus VI, but within a few weeks was taken and forced to kill himself. Thus Antiochus VII Sidetes gained the throne. A strong king, he determined that Palestine should be brought under control. His first attempt failed, however, and for three years Judea had some semblance of peace. Then in 135, at a feast in Jerusalem, Simon met his death through the treachery of a son-in-law. Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, kept the assassin from assuming control and was installed in his father's place as high priest.

IX. From Priest State to Kingdom

Antiochus VII, Last Strong Seleucid King.—Soon after John Hyrcanus took over, Antiochus VII, invaded Palestine in force, overran the country, and laid siege to Jerusalem. After more than a year Hyrcanus was forced to seek terms. Antiochus accepted tribute and hostages and imposed an indemnity, yet did not further deprive the Jews of their freedom, possibly out of respect for Rome. A little later Antiochus VII, the

last strong Seleucid king, was killed (in 129) while campaigning against the Parthians in an effort to re-establish Seleucid rule in the east. Babylonia was thenceforth lost to Parthia, and the Seleucid empire never recovered its former strength.

During this campaign the Parthians freed Demetrius II and sent him back to Syria, hoping to stop the Seleucid advance. Demetrius II, whose reign was interrupted for ten years by his brother's rule while he was a prisoner in Parthia, now resumed control, on Antiochus' death (129). However, he was opposed by his former wife Cleopatra and by an Egyptian-sponsored pretender. After several years of intermittent civil war, Demetrius II was murdered, in 126/25. Later (115–113) Antiochus VIII (Grypus), Cleopatra Thea's son by Demetrius II, and Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus), her son by Antiochus VII, fought for supremacy. From then on there was strife between the factions of various successive and rival kings, until Rome took over in 64. This gave the Jewish state its opportunity for growth.

John Hyrcanus Incorporates Samaria and Idumaea.—While Rome was standing by, watching the houses of Seleucus and Ptolemy destroy themselves, John Hyrcanus again became an independent prince and expanded his territory in Palestine. He destroyed the city of Samaria and the temple on Mt. Gerizim. An Arab people from Transjordan called Nabataeans, who gained considerable power during the Seleucid decline, had dispossessed the Edomites, many of whom settled in the Negeb, or southern Palestine. John Hyrcanus next moved against these Edomites, now called Idumaeans, and forced them either to leave the country or to be circumcised and become Jews (Josephus *Antiquities* xiii. 9. 1 [254–258]). Thus the Hasmonaeans, at first champions of freedom against religious persecution, ended by forcing religion on others. This effort to weld together the houses of Esau and Jacob, a plan that had failed in the past, was destined to bring much suffering and sorrow in later years when the Idumaeans ruled over the Jews. See The Hasmonaeans and the Herods.

John Hyrcanus found little opposition from without, but much within his own nation. For some time the Hasidim—the strict party of the “pious”—had become alienated from the increasingly worldly Hasmonaean priest-rulers. Hyrcanus belonged to the Pharisees, as the principal representatives of the older Hasidim came to be called (see p. 51). But, according to tradition, the Pharisees offended him, with the result that he became a member of the Sadducees (the successors of the older moderate Hellenists) and so conducted himself as to win the antagonism of the populace.

The Hasmonaean Kingdom.—On the death of John Hyrcanus (Hyrcanus I) in 105/04, his wife was to succeed him as civil ruler and his son Aristobulus (I) as high priest, says Josephus. But Aristobulus starved his mother to death, imprisoned three of his brethren, and took to himself the joint title of ruler and high priest. His brother Antigonus assisted him in the government until he fell into disfavor and was assassinated. In his one brief year of rule Aristobulus warred against the Ituraeans, a heathen people to the north. Taking Galilee, he forced the inhabitants, like the Idumaeans, to be circumcised and become Jews. At Aristobulus' death (103) Alexandra (Salome), his widow, opened the door of the prison to his brother Alexander Jannaeus. She gave him her hand in marriage, and made him ruler and high priest. Alexander, if not Aristobulus before him, added the title of king. He slew his other captive brother and appeased the Pharisees by giving them important offices in the government. He then planned on the seizure of outlying districts to bring the kingdom of Israel back to about the area it had occupied in the days of David.

Alexander's first move, against Ptolemais on the coast, west of Galilee, embroiled the Jews in a struggle between Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus and his mother, Cleopatra III of Egypt. Alexander Jannaeus was defeated, not only at Ptolemais, but at Gaza and other Judean towns. Nevertheless he remained master of occupied territories.

Alexander Jannaeus was greatly detested by the Jews, both in Jerusalem and in the army. Once when he, as high priest, went to the altar to offer sacrifice, the people pelted him with citrons. Enraged at this, he had more than 6,000 slain. Later, a civil war broke out, in which the Jews for a time allied themselves with a Seleucid prince against their own king, who persecuted the Pharisees with barbarity.

Despite his many defeats, Alexander Jannaeus acquired territory east of the Jordan and on the formerly Philistine coast, thus extending the borders of the country to approximately where they had stood in the height of the early Hebrew monarchy.

X. Decline of the Hasmonaean Power

Finally, in 76/75 Alexander Jannaeus died. His widow, Alexandra (Salome), possibly on his advice, sided with the Pharisees and so established herself as reigning queen. The Pharisees had suffered so much under the cruel rule of Jannaeus that they were willing to have a woman reign if only they could come back into power. Keeping the civil authority in her own hands, Alexandra (see *The Hasmonaeans and the Herods*) entrusted the high priesthood to her son Hyrcanus II. But her son Aristobulus II sided with the Sadducees. Strife between the liberal Sadducees and the conservative Pharisees flared up again. Hyrcanus II permitted a persecution of the Sadducees that drove them to other parts of Palestine and left them determined to raise up a rebellion against him.

On Alexandra's death in 67 the entire authority of the kingdom, both civil and religious, went to Hymacus II, but the contest between Hymacus and his brother Aristobulus resulted in the intervention of Rome and the end of Hasmonaean rule in 63 B.C. Before the closing chapter of Jewish independence is concluded, it will be necessary to go back to pick up the thread of Roman history that leads to Pompey's conquest of the East.

XI. Rome to the End of the Republic

In Section VI the sketch of the development of Rome ended with the year 168 B.C. By that time Rome had put an end to the first of the Hellenistic monarchies and had turned back the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes from the conquest of Egypt, but had annexed no territory. At first Rome used her power in the East in attempts to preserve the peace. In her efforts to avoid unprofitable or unnecessary wars, Rome repeatedly sent commissions to the East to investigate appeals, claims, and counterclaims, and of course to win whatever advantage she could. She sought to build up the smaller states, like Pergamum, which won leadership in Asia Minor through alliance with Rome; when the Seleucid empire threatened to become too powerful she encouraged divisive elements, such as the Jews; she made allies of Egypt against Syria, of the Greeks against Macedonia, and the like. But when Rome became alarmed, she fought ruthlessly. Eventually a series of wars led to territorial expansion that overtaxed her republican constitution and ended in despotism.

The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.).—By 150 Rome was alarmed by the reviving prosperity of once-prostrate Carthage (see p. 27). Although some Roman leaders had realized that Carthaginian competition was not a threat, there was a party that constantly stirred up the fearful memories of Hannibal, and demanded the complete obliteration of

the rival city. Carthage, provoked by adjoining Numidia, an ally of Rome, broke her promise not to wage war without Rome's consent. Rome's vengeance was the Third Punic War. After a three-year siege Carthage was utterly destroyed in 146.

The Fourth Macedonian War (149–148) and Corinth.—While besieging Carthage, Rome was met with an uprising in Macedonia, and trouble with the Achaean League of cities in southern Greece. In 146, the year of the destruction of Carthage, Rome annexed Macedonia as a province, broke up the Achaean League, and completely destroyed Corinth, taking off to Italy her art treasures. The administration of Greece was then assigned to the Roman governor of Macedonia.

Rome Acquires Pergamum.—In 133 the last king of Pergamum bequeathed to Rome his territory, which embraced a considerable portion of Asia Minor. From then on annexation continued until Rome took over Syria, and finally Egypt, by 30 B.C. But parallel to this growth of empire was an internal revolution that took place in Roman government and society in the century from 133 to 30 B.C.

Rome's Century of Revolution.—During the century witnessing the decline of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid houses, Rome not only expanded territorially but also shifted from a republic to a one-man rule. As Rome grew from a city-state 20 miles square to a nation and then an empire, the popular assembly of citizens meeting at Rome to vote became virtually a local machine. The Senate, which had started as an advisory body to the magistrates, gradually became supreme. But it was sadly unfitted to rule an empire. Civic loyalty gave way to grasping for individual aggrandizement.

Contact with other nations had brought tremendous changes. Commerce with, and tribute from, foreign lands had made Rome most wealthy and created new standards of living. Slaves, captured in the wars, soon replaced native farm labor, and as a result unemployment grew. Association with the provincials, particularly with Greece and the East, had introduced great changes in religion, politics, philosophy, art, and literature. New social vices crept in, bringing increased crime, bribery, and intrigue. The same sort of disintegration that had wrecked the house of Israel in the days of the divided kingdom contributed to the decline and collapse of the Roman Republic and the rise of absolutism.

Attempts at Reform.—Italy had been a land of small farms. When the farmers were called to long extended wars their lands were absorbed into large estates devoted to grazing. Tiberius Gracchus, as tribune in 133, attempted to have the state allot public lands to the unemployed. This met such violent opposition on the part of the estate holders that it cost Tiberius his life. In 123 his brother, Gaius Gracchus, became a tribune. He secured the sale of public grain to the poor at half price, and encouraged the landless to settle in the provinces. But his reforms resulted in his death also. Both of the Gracchi tried to have citizenship extended to all in Italy.

A few years later the assembly asserted its power by choosing Gaius Marius, a man of humble origin, as commander against Numidia. Marius' innovation of recruiting paid troops led to the later professional army. He was successful in Numidia and later against two invading Germanic tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones. Marius continued, as consul, to impress upon the army its real superiority over the Senate. Then long-standing discontent occasioned by Rome's reluctance to grant citizenship to all the allied peoples in Italy brought on civil war (the Social War), which finally ended with the extension of citizenship to all Italians.

Political Rule by Military Leaders.—The sequel of the war with the Italian allies was a ruthless civil war between a successful general, Sulla, champion of the aristocratic Senatorial party, and Marius, leader of the people's party. Sulla gained political victory and dictatorship through the power of the soldiery. However, he retired after putting through his legislative program strengthening the power of the Senate.

After Sulla's death in 78, one of his own officers, Pompey, distinguished himself both at home and abroad. Elected consul with Crassus for the year 70, Pompey instituted some excellent reforms, but he made clear that any final decision in matters of state lay, not with the Senate or the assembly—as was theoretically the case—but with the leader of the military.

Rome Takes Syria and Palestine.—In 67 the popular party made Pompey commander of the forces Rome sent to the East to rid the sea of the Cilician pirates, a task he accomplished in three months. The next year he was authorized to wage war with the recalcitrant kings of Pontus and Armenia. Victorious, he pushed on to the Caspian and subjected Asia Minor to the will of Rome. In 64 Pompey campaigned in Syria, ended the Seleucid monarchy, and turned southward into Palestine. He took Jerusalem and broke the power of the Hasmonaeans. By 63 Syria and Judea were added to the Roman territory (see p. 38).

Caesar and the First Triumvirate.—In 60 Pompey, together with Julius Caesar and Crassus, a financial colossus of great influence, formed an unofficial alliance to dominate the Senate. This was known as the First Triumvirate. Caesar, a nephew of Marius by marriage and a partisan of the popular party, had once been deprived of his property by Sulla, and fled from Rome until Sulla's death. In 60, after a year as governor of farther Spain, he was elected consul for 59. The triumvirate worked together to control legislation and to realize their separate ambitions in provincial commands—Caesar in Gaul, Pompey in Spain, and Crassus in Syria and the East. Crassus was killed in his campaign against Parthia in 53. Pompey was elected sole consul for the year 52.

In 49, when Caesar was required by the Senate to leave his legions and stand for consular election as a private citizen, he refused, and crossed the Rubicon River into Italy proper with his troops. Pompey and most of the Senate fled to Greece. At Pharsalus, in Thessaly, Pompey was defeated in 48. Caesar used the constitutional machinery as a tool. For example, he was voted a dictator for life. In fact, the republic was dead, and Caesar was the master of the Roman world. He made some useful reforms, including the introduction of the 365 1/4 day calendar that we use, with only slight correction, today (see Vol. I, p. 176; Vol. II, p. 118). But he was suspected of wanting to make himself king and was therefore assassinated in 44 B.C.

Octavian the Heir of Caesar.—At the death of Julius Caesar it was hoped that Mark Antony, then consul, could reorganize the government along the old lines of democracy. But immediately Octavius, or Octavian (later the Emperor Augustus), then an 18-year-old lad, the grandnephew of Caesar and adopted heir, appeared in Rome to secure his heritage. After a year of wrangling with Antony, a new triumvirate was formed (in 43) consisting of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus. Following the defeat of Cassius and Brutus, the leading conspirators, both of whom finally committed suicide, Octavian and Antony divided the empire. Octavian took Italy and the West. Antony, taking Egypt, Syria, and the East, forgot his administrative duties in his intoxication with Cleopatra VII, queen of Egypt, who was perhaps more skilled in the arts of intrigue than her great-great aunt

Cleopatra Thea of a century before (see p. 33). With Cleopatra, who had charmed Caesar, Antony dreamed of a divine kingship. In 32 Octavian declared war on Antony, and in 31 won a great naval victory off Actium, on the western coast of Greece. Antony and Cleopatra fled to Egypt, leaving their land forces to capitulate. Thereupon Antony's subordinates and the allied and subject princes of the East submitted to Octavian, who went into winter quarters before going on to Egypt in 30. Finally both Antony and Cleopatra ended their lives in suicide. Thus in 30 B.C. Egypt, the last of the great Hellenistic monarchies into which Alexander's domain was divided, became a Roman province.

Octavian Becomes the Emperor Augustus.—Octavian, now undisputed master of the Roman world, took care to avoid the title of king, so obnoxious to the Romans. Preserving the external form of republican government, he ruled by holding the offices or the powers of various magistracies simultaneously. The Senate also voted him the title of *Augustus* ("Majestic"), and he was known as the *princeps* ("first" or "chief" citizen); his rule was regarded as a "princiate" rather than a monarchy (on the attitude of the eastern provinces, see p. 237). Indeed, his successors for a long time preserved this legal fiction of the princiate, although historians are right in saying that the republic was dead and that Augustus was the first Roman emperor. He was a monarch in fact if not in name, and the title *imperator* ("commander" of the armies), which was the source of his imperial power, came in later times to mean "emperor" in a monarchical sense. Augustus was a wise and moderate ruler who brought peace and prosperity to his vast empire. It was during a census decreed by him that the New Testament era was ushered in at Bethlehem.

XII. The End of Hasmonaeen Independence

The Origin of the Herods.—The fall of the Jewish priest-kingdom to Rome has been mentioned (p. 35), but not described. The end of Hasmonaeen rule was linked closely with the rise of the Herod family, of Idumaeen ancestry, that is, of the Edomites who were compelled by the Maccabean John Hyrcanus to accept the Jewish faith (see p. 34; see The Hasmonaeans and the Herods).

This close connection of Edomite and Jew gave to an Edomite named Antipater (or Antipas) opportunity to take a civil post in the Jewish kingdom, and he became governor of Idumaeen for the Jews. His son, also named Antipater, seems later to have held the same position. When civil war broke out between the Maccabean brothers, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, the younger Antipater supported Hyrcanus and brought with him the alliance of Aretas III, king of the Nabataeans, an Arabian people of Transjordan and the old Edomite territory. Aretas attacked and defeated Aristobulus, who took refuge in the citadel in Jerusalem.

The Coming of Pompey.—It was at this point that the Romans entered the war. Pompey remained in the East after overthrowing the kings of Pontus and Armenia in 66 B.C. (see p. 37). In 65 the general whom Pompey sent into Syria was waited upon by emissaries from both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Probably for the very practical reason that Aristobulus was safely ensconced in Jerusalem, the Romans sided with him against Hyrcanus.

Proceeding south, the Roman army forced Aretas to raise his siege of Jerusalem and withdraw. But the arrogant conduct of Aristobulus caused Pompey to distrust him and to make him a prisoner. The Roman army took possession of the city with the treacherous

aid of adherents of Hyrcanus, although Aristobulus' soldiers continued to hold the Temple hill for three months longer. The Romans succeeded in breaking through the walls in the summer or autumn of 63 B.C. In the ensuing capture of the Temple site some 12,000 Jews were slain. Pompey and his officers entered the holy of holies and gazed in astonishment at a sacred shrine that had no visual representation of the God who was worshiped there (see Josephus *War* i. 7. 6 [152]).

Pompey ended the Maccabean kingdom and took considerable territory away from Judea. He permitted Hyrcanus to continue as high priest and to rule with the title of ethnarch ("ruler of the people"), probably under the supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. Antipater was made his prime minister. Aristobulus and his sons were sent to Rome as prisoners. They escaped, however, and three separate times rose up in revolt against the Romans. Each time they were disastrously defeated. In exasperation, Gabinius, the Roman proconsul of Syria, divided Judea into five districts, each governed by a council of elders. Under this arrangement Hyrcanus retained less and less administrative responsibility, while Antipater took more and more authority, becoming virtually the ruler. In 54 B.C. Crassus, the triumvir (see p. 37), the successor of Gabinius as proconsul of Syria, on the pretext of requiring money for a Parthian campaign, plundered the Temple treasure, with the result that the Jews revolted in 53. In 48, when Pompey was slain in Egypt, after his defeat by Julius Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalus, Antipater changed sides and became a vigorous and efficient partisan of Julius Caesar. In return, Caesar granted favors to the Jews. Hyrcanus was accorded full authority, in 47, with the titles of ethnarch and high priest, which titles were made hereditary to the Jews. Nevertheless, Antipater was still the man actually in power, and made this clear to the Jews, to the great disgust of the nobility. Antipater appointed his son Phasaël governor of Jerusalem and its environs, and a younger son, Herod, later Herod the Great, governor of Galilee.

After Julius Caesar was assassinated in 44, Cassius, one of the conspirators against Caesar, secured the Roman command in the East, and to him Antipater and Herod gave wholehearted support. In return, Cassius made Herod governor of Coele-Syria. Shortly thereafter Antipater was poisoned in Jerusalem.

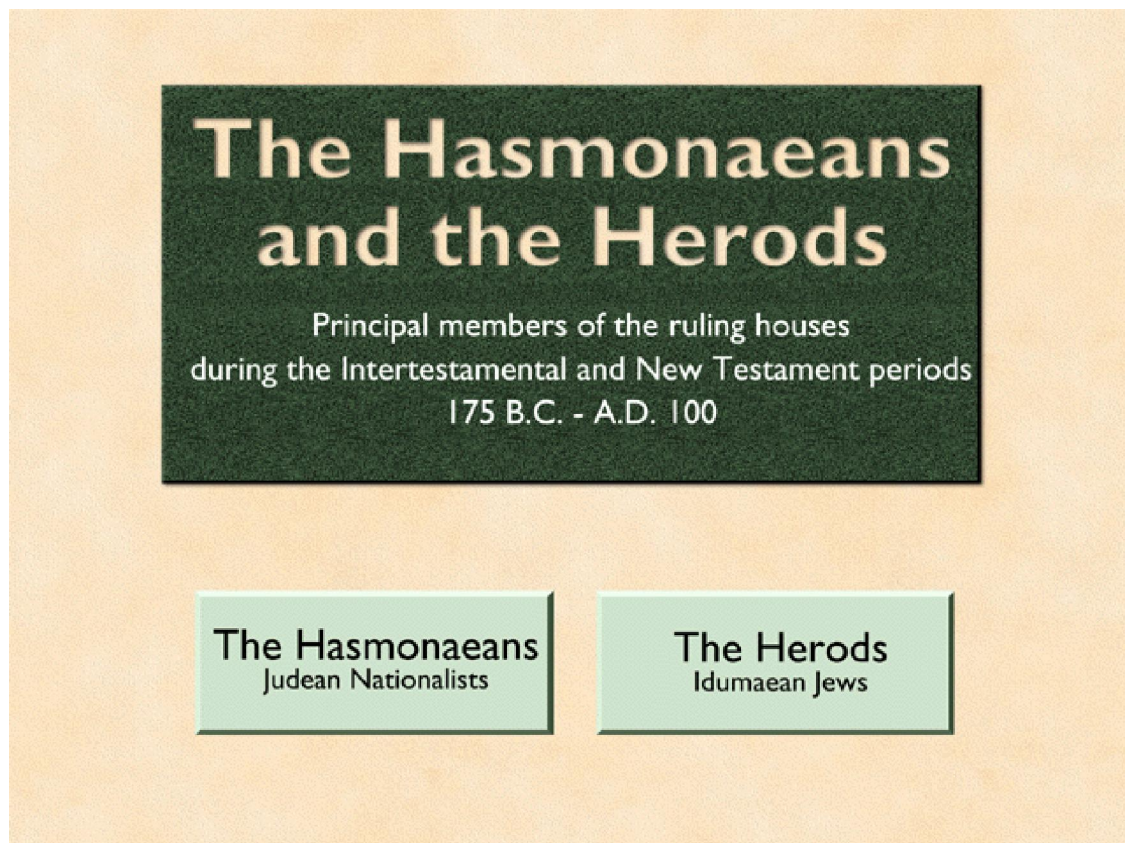
In 42 B.C., after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, Antony assumed control of Roman interests in the East. Having been previously a friend of Antipater, Antony refused the pleas of the Jews to remove the Herodian house and retained Herod and his brother as ethnarchs of Palestine. Hyrcanus was allowed to remain, but only as a high priest. Herod strengthened his position with the Jews by betrothing himself to Mariamne, a granddaughter of Hyrcanus II (see *The Hasmonaeans and the Herods*).

Herod as King.—The next year the Parthians invaded Syria, and Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus, raised the banner of revolt and gained the help of a force of Parthians. Phasaël was made prisoner and eventually killed himself, while Herod fled and finally reached Rome. There, Herod won the favor of Antony and Octavian, who were at that time in alliance, and the Roman Senate, in 40 B.C., unanimously voted Herod the kingship of Judea.

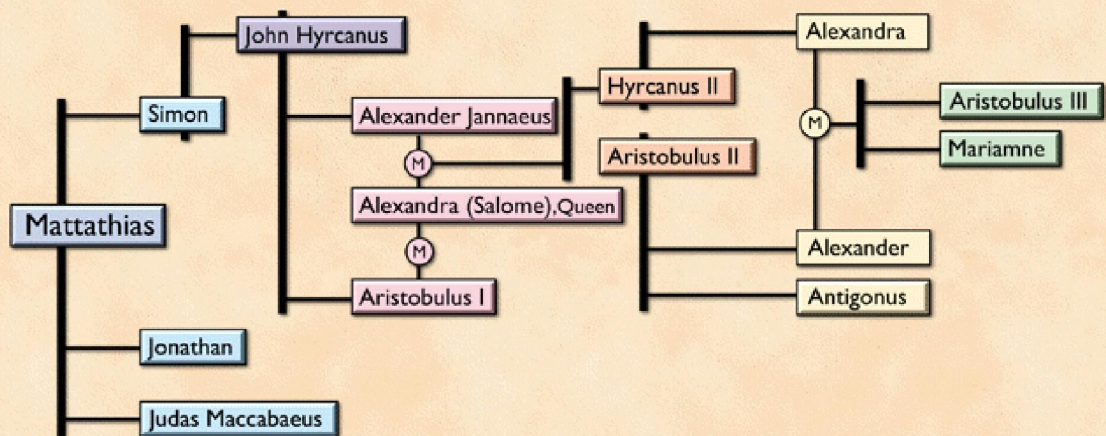
Although Herod had the help of Roman arms, it took him three years to gain possession of his throne. The Jews who opposed him made their last stand in Jerusalem. It required almost three months to take the upper city and the Temple site. The subsequent slaughter was frightful, for both the Romans and the Jews of Herod's party

were enraged at the stubborn resistance offered them. Antigonus, the last Maccabean to function as king, was scourged ignominiously, and, at Herod's earnest plea, put to death. Herod was now (37 B.C.) "master of a city in ruins and king of a nation that hated him."

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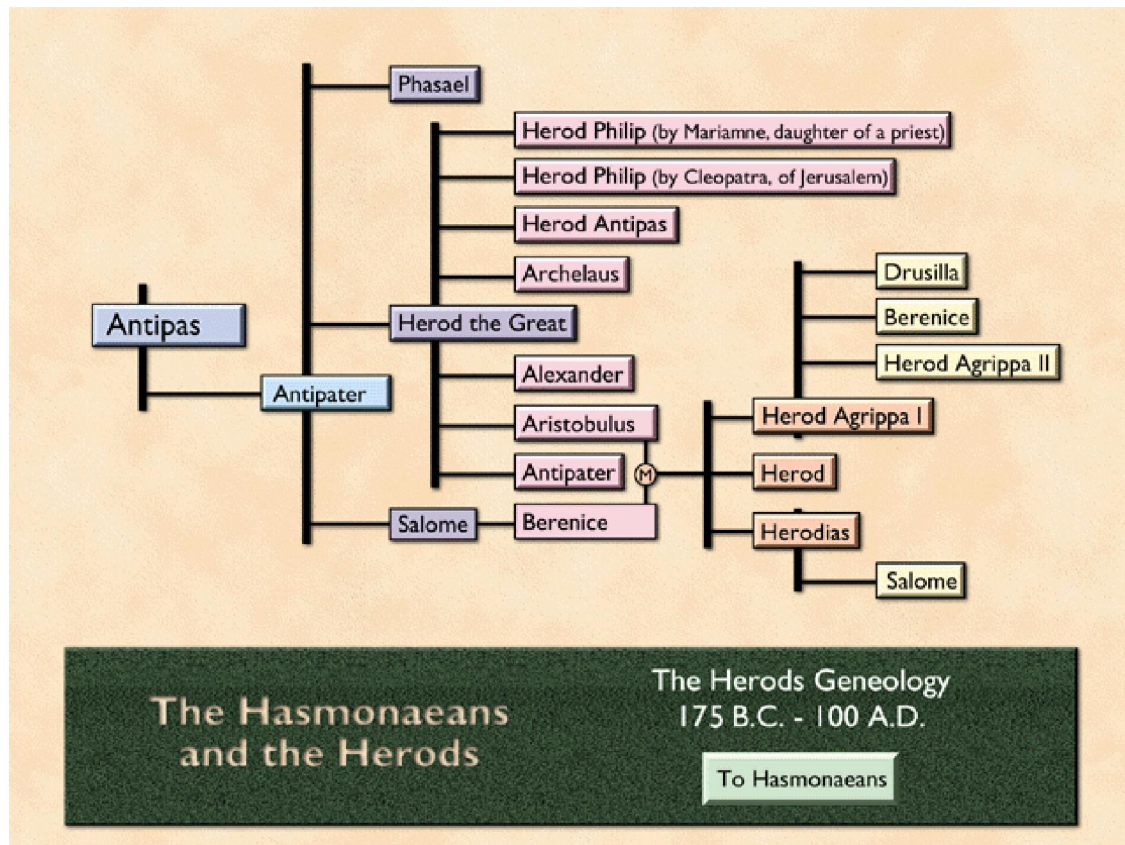
⁴Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.



The Hasmonaean and the Herods

The Hasmonaean Geneology
175 B.C. - 100 A.D.

To Herods



XIII. The Reign of Herod the Great

From the point of view of politics and culture Herod was rightly called “great.” He succeeded in maintaining a balance of allegiance in the shifting current of a difficult political stream; on the one hand he strengthened his kingdom and protected its prosperity, while on the other he retained the friendship and cooperation of Caesar Augustus. But along with his sounder qualities he was possessed of a growing jealousy and suspiciousness of nature that caused him to murder his closest relatives and best friends.

Herod and the Sanhedrin.—Almost immediately upon gaining the throne, Herod executed 45 nobles who had led in the revolt of Antigonus. Many of these men were members of the Sanhedrin, and their loss necessitated its reorganization. The new council thus organized was dominated by the Pharisees. However, many of these Pharisees were opposed to Herod and had even refused to take an oath of allegiance to him; consequently he did not allow them to exert a significant influence on politics. Accordingly, the Sanhedrin became chiefly a place for theological discussion.

Herod and the Hasmonaean.—Herod insulted the remnant of the Hasmonaean (Maccabean) family by appointing as obscure Babylonian (or Egyptian) Jew as high priest. Because Herod suspected the Hasmonaean of plotting against him, he eventually put to death old Hyrcanus II; his daughter Alexandra, Herod’s mother-in-law; Hyrcanus’ grandson, Herod’s own brother-in-law, the well-favored Aristobulus III; and finally Mariamne, Aristobulus’ sister and Herod’s own wife. Except for his sons by Mariamne, this marked the end of the Hasmonaean house, which for almost 150 years had been foremost in Jewish affairs.

Hellenization.—Like Alexander the Great, Herod's patron, Augustus, was determined to unify the Roman world through the diffusion of Greek culture. Herod was quick to follow his example, and attempted to do for Palestine what Augustus was doing on a larger scale for the empire. A tide of heathenism swept over Jerusalem. Greek races and games were the order of the day, the religion and trappings of paganism flourished within sight of the Temple, and shrines to pagan gods were erected at various places throughout the country. When in reaction some of the Pharisees plotted against Herod, he retaliated vigorously and destroyed many of them.

Herod the Builder.—At strategic places throughout his dominions Herod built fortresses to keep the turbulent Jews in check; in fact, his own beautiful palace in Jerusalem was virtually a fortification. He spent years and thousands of talents in building the city of Caesarea and in providing for it an artificial but effective harbor. His building activities also took him outside Palestine. He presented market places, gymnasiums, and temples to communities as far away as Greece, Rhodes, and Syria.

Herod's greatest project was the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. The Temple of Zerubbabel, beautiful though it had been, was now almost 500 years old and badly in need of repair. Herod determined to satisfy his own artistic pride, and at the same time to win the friendship of the Jews, by giving them a magnificent place of worship. Eighteen months were devoted to rebuilding the sanctuary proper, and eight years were spent on the surrounding platforms, walls, courts, and porches. After the work had been brought to this point, and the buildings were in full use, much still remained to be done; in fact, the details of the Temple were not completed until after A.D. 62, only a few years before it was destroyed by the Romans.

Herod's Last Days.—Aristobulus and Alexander, Herod's sons by his Hasmonaean wife Mariamne, had been educated at Rome, and were tall, handsome men, proud of their Hasmonaean blood. When they returned to Jerusalem they became the objects of plots by Herod's sister Salome and his son Antipater. As a result the suspicion of Herod was aroused against these two sons, and he finally brought about their execution in 7 B.C. At the same time some three hundred Jews accused of sympathizing with them were stoned to death. Antipater continued to scheme, until, only five days before his own death, Herod ordered this son executed also.

As Herod approached the end of his life he could pride himself on many substantial achievements. He was leaving monuments of great artistic beauty; commerce and manufacturing in Palestine were in sound condition. But Herod was not loved by his people; they hated him for his heavy taxation, his paganizing activities, and his unbounded cruelties. When he fell ill and it was declared that he could not recover, wild rejoicing broke out in Jerusalem, and a mob tore down the golden eagle—hated emblem of their Roman overlords—that Herod had placed over the entrance to the Temple. When he did recover, however, Herod wreaked his vengeance upon many of these disappointed celebrants.

Sensing that his last days were upon him, the old king ordered his sister Salome to imprison in the hippodrome all the leaders of the Jews and to kill them as soon as he himself was dead, in order that the nation might be in mourning when his time came. Although she did carry out the order of imprisonment, Salome later released the men.

One of the last acts of Herod the Great was the malicious killing of the infants of Bethlehem in the vain endeavor to destroy the Messiah, the newborn Jesus, of whom he

had heard from the wise men of the East (Matt. 2:1–18). Joseph and Mary escaped with the infant to Egypt, where they remained until Herod died early in 4 B.C. (for the date, see p. 242). The history from the death of Herod is continued in the following article on pp. 63–80.

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The Jews of the First Christian Century

I. Introduction

THE period discussed in this article began with the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C. and closed with the end of the Second Jewish Revolt in A.D. 135. This was the period in which John the Baptist, Jesus, and His apostles lived and carried out their public ministry. All of these men were Jews who lived in Palestine. Consequently Jewish history during this period is of primary significance for an understanding of New Testament Christianity. First-century Judaism constituted the environment into which Christianity was born.

During this period Jewish history is marked by unrest in both religious and political affairs. Judaism was divided into several opposing sects, whose differences were often as much political and social as they were religious. Thus the Pharisees stood for a legalistic

puritanism, the Sadducees represented the political and social aristocracy, the Essenes aloofly waited for the Messiah in monastic, other-worldly colonies, while the Herodians and Zealots occupied the extreme political poles of collaboration with the Romans and insurrection against them.

Jewish life during this period centered to a large degree in the local synagogue. Here the Jews gathered not only to worship God but also to read and expound the Law and the Prophets. Often, too, the synagogue provided a school for the instruction of Jewish youth. Both by their writings and by their way of life the Jews made a marked impact on the pagan world around them. They carried on active proselyting activities and won many converts from heathenism, either as sympathizers or as full-fledged, circumcised Jews.

Messianic expectation was strong among the Jews during this period. Many believed the Promised One was about to appear, and both the Pharisees and the Essenes had fairly elaborate doctrines in regard to His advent. Consequently it was possible for several impostors claiming to be the Messiah to gather about themselves a credulous following. This expectation of a world deliverer appeared not only in Judaism but also in a less-developed form in heathen circles.

Jewish political unrest was aggravated during this period by a succession of unscrupulous Roman procurators who ruled Judea. Conditions deteriorated to such an extent that in A.D. 66 the Jews began a revolt against the Romans which they continued until A.D. 73. By that time Jerusalem, with its Temple, had been destroyed and the nation dispersed. Years of quiet recuperation followed this national catastrophe. During the early years of the 2d century several minor insurrections by Jews occurred in various parts of the Roman Empire, and finally, in A.D. 132, full-scale rebellion broke out once more in Palestine. Within three years the Jews were again prostrate before the Roman juggernaut. To forestall further rebellion, the Romans forbade any Jew ever again to enter the city of Jerusalem. Thereafter Palestinian Judaism ceased to be of primary significance for the history of Christianity.

II. Political Divisions

The region given by the Romans to Herod the Great and his descendants comprised a number of areas that were distinct by custom, and even by dialect. These differences had come about through the process of history.

Judea.—Judea occupied southern Palestine west of the Dead Sea. It included the territories once occupied by the Hebrew tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, and took in most of the ancient region of Philistia on the Mediterranean Sea. Its northern boundary ran east from Joppa to the Jordan, and its southern frontier followed a line beginning just south of Gaza and continuing through Beersheba to the Dead Sea (see Palestine During the Ministry of Jesus). It included the cities of Joppa, Jamnia, Gaza, Bethlehem, Jericho, and Hebron, with the capital, Jerusalem.

Judea was largely a hilly plateau, or long ridge running north and south, which rose rapidly from a narrow coastal plain, and which, in several places, reached an altitude of more than 3,000 feet (c. 1,000 m.). On the east the descent was extremely rapid to the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, the surface of which lay almost 1,300 feet (c. 400 m.) below sea level. In size Judea under Herod was some 55 miles (c. 90 km.) from north to south, and about the same distance from east to west. Its hills and valleys lent themselves to agriculture, sheep raising, and wine culture on a small scale.

Samaria.—Samaria lay to the north of Judea, in territory that was settled by the tribes of Ephraim, western Manasseh, and part of Benjamin. It was bounded on the north by the plain of Esdraelon and Mt. Gilboa. It centered on Mts. Gerizim Berizim and Ebal, at the feet of which lay the ancient city of Shechem (near present Nablus), with Jacob's well nearby. Samaria, long the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, was situated a few miles farther north. Samaria consisted of rolling country with fertile valleys.

The enmity between Jews and Samaritans had a background in the separation of the northern kingdom from the southern (see Vol. II, p. 76), which lasted from the secession under Jeroboam I in 931 B.C. until the captivity of the northern tribes in 723/722 B.C. The Assyrians deported many of the Israelites and replaced them with mixed races of heathen people from other captured provinces (2 Kings 17:24). These people brought their heathen gods with them. When disaster came to these new settlers the Assyrians superstitiously sent them an Israelitish priest to introduce them to the God of the land. The mingling of the Israelites who remained in the land with the heathen immigrants resulted in a mixed religion, partly a worship of Jehovah and partly a heathen ritual.

When the Jews returned to Judea from Babylon this religious situation constituted a very strong reason for their hatred of the Samaritans. Almost immediately there was friction between the two peoples (see Vol. III, pp. 69-72, 321, 322 see on Ezra 4; Neh. 4; 6). The Samaritans interfered with the rebuilding of Jewish cities, and when overtures of alliance were made by the Samaritans, the Jews rejected them. The Samaritans established their own temple on Mt. Gerizim in opposition to that in Jerusalem. The enmity thus crystallized never changed for the better. During the Maccabean struggle the Samaritans collaborated with Antiochus Epiphanes (see p. 30; see on Dan. 11:14). There was no social intercourse of any kind between the two peoples (Neh. 2 to 6; John 4:9).

Galilee.—Galilee lay to the north of Samaria, bounded on the north by the Litani River and the southern foothills of Mt. Hermon, on the east by the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River. It was shut off from the Mediterranean Sea on the west by the narrow coastal strip of ancient Phoenicia, with its cities of Haifa, Acre (Ptolemais), Tyre, Zarephath, and Sidon. Galilee included cities such as Gischala, Chorazin, Capernaum, Nazareth, and Jezreel. It comprised the territory of the ancient tribes of Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, and the northern section of Dan.

Galilee was fertile, with an industrious, independent, hardy people. Because of the presence of a Greek-speaking population in their midst, the Galileans of Israelite descent were particularly zealous in retaining their Judaism. This was the land of Christ's boyhood and youth, and the province from which He drew the majority of His disciples.

Peraea.—Peraea lay east of the Jordan River, opposite Samaria and northern Judea, and comprised the ancient land of Reuben and Gad. Prominent among its natural features were Mt. Nebo and the brook Jabbok. In the old days this area had been grazing country, and it still supported herds of cattle and sheep.

Other Areas Under Herod.—North and east of the Sea of Galilee lay an extensive territory also ruled by the Herodian family. In the western part of this area, on the eastern shore of Galilee, was the district of Gaulanitis, which included the cities of Bethsaida Julias and Gergesa. Farther to the north, east of northern Galilee, lay the city of Paneas (Caesarea Philippi). These northeastern territories extended north to Mt. Hermon and east to the environs of Damascus.

Decapolis.—In the midst of Herod's dominion was an extensive, autonomous area dominated by an association of Greek-speaking cities. Originally ten in number, these cities gave the name of Decapolis—"ten cities"—to their district. Beginning at the eastern end of the Valley of Esdraelon, the Decapolis district extended across the Jordan to include a wide area north and east of Peraea, running from the river Yarmuk south to Philadelphia. In ancient times much of this area had been occupied by the tribe of Manasseh.

III. Daily Life in Palestine

Home Life.—Home life in Palestine was in some ways similar to what can still be found in some places in the Middle East today. The houses of the ordinary peasantry were built of mud, bricks, or stone, with a packed-earth floor and a flat roof of timbers and reeds or branches, plastered with mud. The interior was often of two parts, in one of which the floor was raised a foot or more above the other. On the upper level the women did their work and the family slept, probably often in one bed rolled out on the floor; on the lower level animals could stay when it was necessary for them to have shelter, the children might play, and other work could be done. A stairway often ran up the side of the house to the roof, and there the family might sleep in summertime. Such houses as this usually opened into a courtyard, and indeed often several houses were built together, connected in such a way as to form an enclosure with their common courtyard in the center. Such structures, dependent so much on the use of mud, were frequently damaged seriously by rains and floods.

People in better circumstances, of course, built much more substantial and comfortable houses. They usually contained at least two rooms, sometimes several around a court. The homes of the rich often were much more extensive. The better houses were built of squared stone.

By modern standards, furniture even in the homes of the better class was simple; people usually sat on mats on the floor, and their rooms contained often little more than a chest or two, a bedroll, and some small tables. Small oil lamps made of clay provided light at night. Heating was by open fires, often of charcoal, either in a pit in the earthen floor in poorer homes or in a brazier in the houses of those who could afford it.

Jewish women had a status relatively higher than that of other Eastern Mediterranean women, other than the Romans. They enjoyed a position of respect and influence beyond their legal status. Esther and Judith were portrayed as saviors of their people. The Jewish marriage contract seems already at this time to have protected the property of women, and that they enjoyed some legal claim upon property held by their husbands may be inferred from the text of a deed of sale recently discovered. This document, dated "in the year 3 of Israel's Freedom" (A.D. 134), records the sale of a house by one Hadar son of Judah; at the end of the deed is the following declaration: "Further, I, Shalom daughter of Simeon, the w[ife of] the aforementioned Hadar, may raise no objections to the sale of the said house [*for evermo*]re, ... for evermore" (S. Abramson and H. L. Ginsberg, "On the Aramaic Deed of Sale of the Third Year of the Second Jewish Revolt," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 136 [December, 1954], p. 19).

Palestinian clothing was loose and relatively simple. The basic garment for both men and women was a tunic, the *chitōn* ("coat," Matt. 5:40; 10:10), which, in the case of men, at least, might be either long or short. Laboring men, indeed, sometimes wore only a waistcloth. Another form this undergarment might take was that of a sheet simply wound

about the body, with one end flung over the shoulder. A cloth or leathern girdle was frequently worn about the waist, though by no means always. Various types of headgear were common, including both straw and felt hats, but Jews seem most frequently to have worn a head scarf much like the prayer shawl still seen in synagogues. Jewish men wore a garment with tassels (*šîṣith*) on each corner (Num. 15:37–40); in NT times this was worn conspicuously (cf. Matt. 9:20; 23:5), but in later ages as an undergarment. The common footgear was the sandal, although leather shoes were also known. The most important outer garment was the *himation*. The clothing of women was much like that of the men, but doubtless more colorful, and the headgear of a married woman consisted of a scarf or band binding the hair about the head. They often decorated themselves with strings of coins, and with both earrings and nose ornaments. While Roman men commonly wore their hair short and shaved their faces, Palestinian Jews appear generally to have had long hair and beards.

Economic Life.—Basic to life in Palestine was agriculture. The population was made up largely of middle-class farmers who were small landholders. It was to this class that Jesus referred when He spoke of the “householder” (see Matt. 13:52), or “the goodman of the house” (Luke 12:39). Though sometimes in a position to hire help, these farmers, together with their women and children, did much of their own work, plowing, sowing, and harvesting. For food they depended to a large extent upon their own crops, and thus their living, while adequate under favorable conditions, was seldom abundant enough to permit the amassing of any wealth. In time of crop failure these people often found themselves in dire straits, which at best required them to hire themselves out as day laborers, and at worst, to sell themselves as slaves. Thus a large proportion of the population of Palestine in the first century lived at little better than a subsistence level.

A much smaller group among the farming population were able to acquire sufficient land to produce a surplus above their own needs, which they sold to the nonfarming population at a profit. This put them in a dominant position as regards agriculture, for they had ready money and surplus seed to lend to the poorer peasants, and produce to create a vegetable and fruit market. There were also a few large estates held chiefly by aristocrats and administered by stewards (see Luke 16:1).

In addition to these landholders there were several types of farmers who worked by contract: tenant farmers, lessees, renters, and day laborers (see Matt. 20:1). Finally at the bottom of the economic scale were the slaves, who were neither so numerous nor so badly treated in Palestine as they were among the Romans. Slaves of Jewish blood were indentured servants; that is, they served for a fixed period of six years. Gentile slaves, however, fell in another category, and were the absolute chattels of their masters. Generally speaking, they were not so well treated by their Jewish masters as were Jewish slaves.

Besides those occupied with agriculture, a large portion of the population was engaged in handicrafts. It was the Jewish ideal that every man, no matter how exalted in life his station, should teach his son a trade (AA 346, 347). Leading rabbis of ancient times are recorded as having been woodcutters, shoemakers, bakers, and one of them was a well digger. Jewish literature mentions some 40 different kinds of tradesmen in Palestine during this period, among whom were tailors, builders, millers, tanners, butchers, dairymen, barbers, laundrymen, jewelers, weavers, potters, coopers, glassmakers, copyists, and painters. Also there were fishermen, apothecaries, physicians,

beekeepers, poultrymen, and shepherds. Many tradesmen not only manufactured their wares but also sold them directly; others dealt through middlemen.

Trade was brisk, not only in domestic produce, but also in articles imported from abroad. In fact, perhaps as much as one half of the commerce of Palestine dealt with foreign goods. Jewish ships manned by Jewish crews carried much of this trade. Commerce was facilitated by a regular banking system, which made it possible for merchants to draw by manuscript check on accounts in such distant cities as Alexandria or Rome.

Most business, of course, was done either by barter or by direct cash payment. Two systems of coinage were common in Palestine, one following the Roman scale and another the Greek. Some of these coins, particularly the denarius, were issued by the Roman Government itself, and others, such as the lepton, were minted by the Jewish authorities. The procurators also struck coinage for use in Palestine. The largest unit of all, the talent, was not a coin, but a unit of account.

The following table of monetary units mentioned in the New Testament gives their approximate weights, but it should be borne in mind that weights of various coins fluctuated from time to time.

COINS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Units based on Greek system:	
Drachma ("piece of silver," cf. Luke 15:8)	3.8 g.
Stater ("piece of money," Matt. 17:27 ; = 4 drachmas)	17.5 g.
Mina ("pound," cf. Luke 19:13 ; = 100 drachmas; not a coin, but a unit of account)	
Talent (Matt. 18:24 ; 25:15 ; = 60 minas; not a coin, but a unit of account)	
Units based on Roman system:	
Lepton ("mite," cf. Mark 12:42)	.5-1 g.
Kodrantes ("farthing," Matt. 5:26 ; Mark 12:42 , the Roman quadrans; = 2 lepta)	1.5-3 g.
Assarion ("farthing," Matt. 10:29 ; Luke 12:6 , the Roman as; = 4 quadrantes)	bronze, 6-8 g.
Denarius ("penny," cf. Matt. 18:28 ; 20:9 , 10 ; = 16 asses)	silver, 3.89 g.

While it is possible to compute approximate values in modern money for these ancient coins, such equivalents are soon out of date, and give little idea as to purchasing power, the real determining factor in money value. Perhaps a better realization of the value of this money can be gained from the fact that a denarius was a day's wages for a common farm laborer (see [Matt. 20:2](#)).

New Testament also mentions several measures of capacity and length. Some of these were of Hebrew origin, while others were Greek and Roman. Although New Testament measures, such as *batos*, *saton*, and *koros* are the Hebrew *bath*, *se'ah*, and *kor*, there is

evidence that during the period between the 6th century B.C. (from which comes the best evidence of their capacity in Old Testament times; see Vol. I, pp. 166, 167) and the 1st century A.D., they had changed considerably in their actual capacities. It is impossible to give an absolute equivalent for each unit of measure mentioned in the New Testament, both because several of these units varied in capacity at different times and places, and because some of these terms appear to have represented more than one size of measurement (somewhat as the gallon varies in the U.S. and British countries today). The following tables of capacity are based, as far as Hebrew measures are concerned, upon Josephus' statement that a bath (*batos*) equaled 72 sextarii (*Antiquities* viii. 2. 9 [57]). Since present information indicates that the Roman sextarius may be calculated at .547 liter, which is 1.156 U.S. pints liquid or .994 pint dry measure, it is possible to arrive at a fair approximation for the *batos*. On the supposition that the relationships between the bath and other Hebrew measurements had remained constant since Old Testament times, the *saton* and the *koros* may also be calculated.

DRY MEASURE

<i>Unit</i>	<i>U.S./Metric</i>
Choinix ("measure," Rev. 6:6 ; Greek; = 2 sextarii)	.99 qt. / 1.09 l.
Modios ("bushel," Matt. 5:15 ; Roman; = 16 sextarii)	7.95 qt. / 8.75 l.
Saton ("measure," cf. Matt. 13:33 ; Jewish; = 24 sextarii)	11.93 qt. / 13.13 l.
Koros ("measure," cf. Luke 16:7 ; Jewish; = 10 batoi)	14.92 bu. / 5.25 hl.

LIQUID MEASURE

Xestēs ("pot," cf. Mark 7:4 ; Roman; = sextarius)	1.156 pt. / .547 l.
Batos ("measure," cf. Luke 16:6 ; Jewish; = 72 sextarii)	10.41 gal. / 39.40 l.
Metrētēs ("firkin," cf. John 2:6 ; Greek)	10.27 gal. / 38.88 l.
or, if equivalent to OT "bath"	5.81 gal. / 22.00 l.

LINEAR MEASURE

Pēchus ("cubit," Matt. 6:27 ; Greek, representing Heb. <i>ammah</i>) about	1 ft. 5½ in. / .4445 m.
Orguia ("fathom," cf. Acts 27:28 ; Greek) about	6 ft. / 1.8 m.
Stadion ("furlong," cf. Luke 24:13 ; Greek) about	606 ft. 6 in. / 185 m.
Sabbatou hodos ("a sabbath day's journey," Acts 1:12 ; Jewish) about	2,916 ft. / 889 m.
Milion ("mile," Matt. 5:41 ; Roman) about	4,855 ft. / 1,480 m.

For the measurement of time the Jews of the New Testament period used their own traditional calendar (see the discussions of this calendar, Vol. II, pp. 100-123; Vol. V, pp. 236, 238). Living in the Roman Empire, they were familiar also with the Roman calendar

(see Vol. V, pp. 237, 239). The Jews began the calendar day with sunset, but counted the daytime hours from sunrise. As is shown in Matt. 20:1, 3–6, 8, 12, the working day began “early in the morning” and continued until the twelfth hour, “when even was come.” Thus the daylight period was divided into twelve equal parts, or hours, which varied somewhat in length with the seasons. The night was divided into “watches”; in Old Testament times there were three of these (see Ex. 14:24; Judges 7:19). However, the New Testament uses instead the Roman system, which divided the night into four watches (see Matt. 14:25; Mark 6:48), apparently known as evening, midnight, cockcrow, and morning (see Mark 13:35), and each approximately three hours long. That this system was in common use among the Jews in the 1st century is implied by Josephus (*Antiquities* v. 6. 5 [223]; xviii. 9. 6).

The common language of Palestine in the 1st century was Aramaic, which had been widely spoken in both the Babylonian and the Persian Empire, and which the Jews had brought home with them on their return from the Babylonian captivity (see Vol. I, p. 30). In addition to Aramaic, much Greek was also in use in Palestine as a result of centuries of Hellenistic influence. This was particularly true in the cities of the Decapolis and in other Hellenistic cities, such as Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, which was situated only four miles from Jesus’ home at Nazareth. Jews born in the Gentile world outside of Palestine, who had returned to their national homeland, also often spoke Greek.

IV. The Sects of Judaism

The Pharisees.—The conquest of the ancient East by Alexander the Great (331 B.C.) was followed by a more permanent cultural invasion by Greek language, customs, ideas, and religion. Eventually, attempts by Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize the Jews, that is, to compel them to adopt Greek culture, provoked the most determined resistance (see pp. 28-31; see on Dan. 11:14). Led by Judas Maccabaeus and other members of his family, later known as Maccabees or Hasmonaeans, the Jews heroically defeated the forces of Antiochus and secured their own freedom (164 B.C.). Among the Jews, particularly those of the more wealthy and educated classes and those residing beyond the borders of Palestine, there was a gradual tendency to adopt Greek culture. Such Jews were known as Hellenists and constituted the liberal element of Jewish society. But most of those who lived in Judea clung tenaciously to the customs and religion of their forefathers.

In opposition to Greek influences, there arose in Judea a conservative movement whose members adopted the name Hasidim (Heb. *chasidim*), meaning “pious ones,” or “saints” (see on Ps. 16:10; see Additional Note on Psalm 36). The Pharisees, whose name means “separatists,” owed their origin to the Hasidim, and first appeared as a political party about 120 B.C., during the time of John Hyrcannus (pp. 29, 34). The Pharisees were the popular, orthodox, majority party. Their program was one of rigid adherence to the law and to the host of traditional interpretations which at the time were growing out from it. They insisted on avoiding public responsibility and civic duties. While not withdrawing from the hum and bustle of life, they were critical judges of it, and so sought to avoid its supposedly defiling contacts. They insisted on reliance upon God to lead His people and to work for them as He had in the past.

But church and state were united in Judea, as in all governments of that day. Among the Jews religion was the concern of the state in a peculiar way. It had always been so, from Moses through Samuel to David, under whom the priestly class had become distinct from the civil authority. Furthermore, the Hasmonaeon house had been a priestly one,

although not indeed of the direct high priestly line of Aaron. Therefore, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, sons of Mattathias, the old priest of Modin, were still priests the while they ruled their newly redeemed country, and none had a more effective claim to the high priestly office. But to this union of religious and political leadership the Pharisees objected. They wished to separate religion from the concern of the state, to rid the high priesthood of political entanglements, and to divorce themselves from civic activity.

All of these endeavors were difficult to achieve. For the Jews there was no logical line of separation between religion and other activities of life. The priesthood was so responsible a part of public life that it could not escape political involvements. Instead of withdrawing physically from society, as did the Essenes and the later Christian monks, the Pharisees became partisans of any leader who would espouse their views. As students of the law, they were the party of the scribes, or theologians, and hence, although not made up of the common people, they were the popular spiritual guides. They pressed their beliefs with ardor and conviction, and won numerous adherents to their point of view.

The Pharisees believed in a future life. God would give His people happiness in the divine presence, which only a righteous man could enjoy. In that beatific state good men would receive the rewards of their virtue. Conversely, the wicked, the resisters of God, those who disobeyed His law, would suffer forever in a place of torment. However, not all Pharisees agreed on the details of future rewards and punishments meted out to the faithful and the unfaithful. There were many variations of thought about the afterlife. A common belief among the Pharisees was the concept that in an intermediate place all the souls of the dead awaited transfer, each to its ultimate destiny. From this imaginary place—Hades—those not yet prepared to enter “Abraham’s lap” (see Talmud *Kiddushin* 72a, Soncino ed., p. 369) could, from one side, view in anticipation its pleasures, while from the other side those not yet confirmed to an evil destiny could see the reality of the horrors awaiting them.

In His parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), Christ used the teachings of the Pharisees concerning the future life as a vehicle for emphasizing that one should profit in this life by warnings and admonitions for his betterment (COL 263–265). Following his arrest in Jerusalem (Acts 23:6–10), Paul used to his advantage the belief of the Pharisees in the resurrection, in order to divide his accusers.

The Messianic hope was bright with the Pharisees. The Anointed One would come and restore, and greatly add to, the glory that was Israel’s during the reign of David (see Vol. IV, p. 31). Messiah would rule the world (see Vol. IV, p. 30). David had been powerful and had wielded great influence in the world, but Messiah would transcend all other rulers. David had been wise and good, but Messiah would be righteousness personified, and although they did not conceive of Him as God, they believed that He would be clothed with supernatural power. The terms *legalism*, *nationalism*, and *Messianism* may be used to describe the Pharisees’ philosophy and objectives.

As the Hasmonaeen house grew older in experience and the duties of state involved more and more international contacts, the rulers became less strictly Jewish and more marked by the very Hellenism against which old Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabaeus had revolted. This tendency was accelerated until, eventually, the Hellenizing policies of the Herodian dynasty prevailed. It was to this development, so contrary to everything they believed, that the Pharisees stood opposed.

The Sadducees.—The meaning of the name Sadducee is not known, unless it came from the priestly family name of Zadok (see 1 Kings 2:35), which was probably used as a rallying point of sorts for the exponents of the aristocratic point of view. Such exponents the Sadducees were, with a strong concern for the secular interests of the nation. Thus the Sadducees were quite different from the Pharisees. The material and political success that attended the efforts of the Maccabean family was a source of deep satisfaction to them. Their interests were primarily political. Separatism was contrary to their outlook.

They were not antireligious, but felt that the welfare of the nation as they conceived of it did not require that religious considerations be decisive in all matters. They accepted the Torah, the Law, as canonical, but rejected the rest of the Old Testament as uninspired, and denied the value of tradition (see on Mark 12:26; Luke 24:44), of which the Pharisees made so much.

Consequently, the Sadducees refused to accept the teaching of a future life, or of angels, or of spirits of any sort, or of future retribution, for they declared that they failed to find in the Torah plain statements on these matters (Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 1. 4; *War* ii. 8. 14 [164–165; Acts 23:8]). Whereas the Pharisees confessed dependence upon God for help, the Sadducees relied upon themselves. Thus they were prepared to enter into foreign alliances and to utilize any other means that promised to benefit the nation.

Standing as they did for the aristocratic side of Jewish life, the Sadducees were not representative of the people as a whole. They were a reincarnation, in a sense, of the Hellenistic party among the earlier Jews, against whom the Hasidim had arisen, whereas the Pharisees, on the other hand, were the ideological descendants of the Hasidim.

At first the Hasmonaean princes successfully avoided becoming partisans of either the Pharisees or the Sadducees, but worked with both, distributing public offices and honors between them. It was during the long principate of John Hyrcanus I, son of the noble Hasmonaean Simon, that an indiscretion on the part of some leaders among the Pharisees drove the Hasmonaean house into the arms of the Sadducees (Josephus *Antiquities* xiii. 10. 6 [293–296]). From then on the Hasmonaean house was more openly Hellenistic, that is, less Judaistic, in its policies and procedures, and the Sadducees exerted more and more influence in national affairs. Comparatively little is known of the Sadducees, however, because they have left no literature whatsoever.

The Essenes.—A third Jewish sect was the Essenes, who, like the Pharisees, appear to have been an outgrowth of the Hasidim. The Essenes represent, apparently, the extreme conservative side of the same development that resulted in Pharisaism. They put into practice the sterner tenets of the Pharisees' beliefs.

Minor differences between the various sources on Essenism appear to indicate that the sect was divided into two groups, one of which was characterized by the rejection of marriage. In other ways both types of Essenes carried the separatism of the Pharisees to the point of withdrawal from society, and consequently led what was virtually a monastic life. They avoided trade, refused to hold slaves, and to some extent, at least, shunned the sacrifices of the Temple. They refused to take oaths, held goods in common, had communal meals with food prepared by priest-cooks, dwelt in houses apart from non-Essenes, and gave careful fraternal aid to one another in sickness or other adverse circumstances. They dressed in white and practiced meticulous cleanliness. Particularly conspicuous in this regard was their emphasis on ceremonial washings by immersion, which they practiced daily.

The Essenes believed in the pre-existence of souls, in reference to which they held to a philosophic dualism and hence rejected the resurrection of the body. Their teaching had elements apparently derived from Zoroastrianism. Some phases of it resembled also certain features of Greek Pythagoreanism.

The archeological discoveries at *Khirbet Qumrân*, near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, aroused new interest in this sect (see Vol. I, pp. 31-34; Vol. IV, pp. 86-88). It is now widely thought among scholars that the buildings at Qumrân belonged to an Essene community that flourished in the 1st century B.C., and again, after a period of vacancy, in the 1st century A.D.; and that the manuscripts found there were an Essene library. Similarities between these documents—particularly *The Manual of Discipline* and *The Habakkuk Commentary*—and a treatise discovered in Cairo in 1896, originating with a group known as the Damascus Covenanters, led to the further suggestion that this Damascus group was also Essene. Fragments from the same Damascus Covenanters were also found at Qumrân caves 4 and 6—proving the connection beyond doubt.

These documents reveal striking parallels with certain aspects of early Christianity, and demonstrate a closer connection than had previously been realized between the teaching of John the Baptist and Jesus, on the one hand, and of certain elements in Judaism, on the other. The coming of Messiah—in fact, two messiahs—was an important Qumrân belief. The groups at Qumrân and Damascus, at least, traced their origin to a prophet, “the Teacher of Righteousness.” He had organized his followers into a “New Covenant” (or “New Testament”) in preparation for the Messianic kingdom, and had come into serious conflict with the dominant religious authorities among the Jews.

The Qumrân community purposed to help, by their purity of life and strict obedience to the law, to prepare the world for the coming kingdom. They insisted that acts of purification, such as their daily immersions, were useless if not preceded by a cleansing of the heart by “a holy spirit,” which, they believed, God made known to them through “His Anointed One.” Their emphasis on spiritual cleanliness in preparation for the Messianic kingdom, their washings, their high ethical standards, and their locale in the wilderness of Jordan near the Dead Sea closely parallel the ministry of John the Baptist. Like him, they declared themselves to be a fulfillment of Isa. 40:3. So striking are these similarities that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that John must have had some contact with this sect. Certain aspects of the teaching of the apostle John and of Paul also find illuminating parallels in the literature of this group. This, of course, does not mean that these apostles borrowed their gospel message in any part from the Essenes.

The Herodians.—The Herodians arose at a later time than the foregoing parties and were apparently interested almost solely in politics. Little is known of them beyond casual references in the New Testament (Matt. 22:16; Mark 3:6; 12:13). Josephus speaks of “partisans of Herod” (*Antiquities* xiv. 15. 10 [450]). It would appear that they were Galileans who wished to see scions of the house of Herod ruling in Palestine, rather than foreigners.

The Zealots.—Like the Herodians, the Zealots were political in their interests and in their program. Various theories are held as to their origin. Some see them as derived, like the Pharisees and Essenes, from the Hasidim; thus they would be “pious ones” for whom politics became the chief issue of religion. Such a relationship, however, is difficult to establish by clear documentary evidence. Josephus (*Antiquities* xviii. 1. 6) describes a “fourth sect of Jewish philosophy” that has often been equated with the Zealots, although

conclusive evidence from the sources for this identification is also lacking. He attributes the founding of this sect to Judas the Galilean (or Gaulanite), who rose in revolt against a taxation, perhaps following Quirinius' census of A.D. 6 (see Acts 5:37). He reports that religiously they sided with the Pharisees, but that politically they refused to have anyone rule over them but God. Josephus does not mention the Zealots, by name at least, until the time of the Roman war (A.D. 66–70), when they appeared as a violent party under the leadership of John of Gischala (*War* v. 3. 1 [98–105]). Inasmuch, however, as he does report (*Antiquities* xviii. 1. 6) that the adherents of the “fourth sect” were particularly active during that war, it may well be that they are to be identified with the Zealots. One of Christ's disciples, Simon (not Peter), had probably been a Zealot (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13).

There were also groups of Jewish Christians such as the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, which arose much later, too late to be in the province of this survey. Whether any of these sects remained acceptable members of Jewish society is not clear. The main body of Jewish Christians was not thus acceptable, but was rejected by Judaism at the council of Jamnia (c. A.D. 90).

V. Jewish Religious Life

The Common People.—Important as the sects of Judaism were in the life of the nation, they represented only a fraction of the Jewish population in the 1st century. The majority of the people were unlearned in those details of the law that were so dear to the Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots, and at the same time they were also largely untouched by the sophistication of the Sadducees. These uneducated masses were known in Hebrew as *‘amme ha’ares*, “people of the land.” The Pharisees despised them for their ignorance and their consequent disregard of strict tithing and ritual cleanliness, and for this reason believed them to be under a curse (see John 7:49). Jesus and His disciples did much of their work among such people, and indeed probably often were classed with them (see Matt. 11:19; 15:1, 2; John 7:15). The disregard, by the *‘amme ha’ares*, of ritual and ceremonial restrictions did not mean, however, that they were necessarily without a desire for God, and these people doubtless made up the majority of those who “heard him gladly” (Mark 12:37).

Jewish life continued its development while Herod built, spent, murdered, and finally died. Messianic hopes ran high. The Pharisees urged upon the people an example of stern legalism characterized by strict observance of the Sabbath and of ritualistic rules of cleanliness. The round of services in the Temple at Jerusalem continued with unbending dignity and pomp, while its courtyards were filled with worshippers, beggars, money-changers, and sellers of sacrificial animals. Coming not only from the outlying reaches of Palestine, but from all over the world, thousands of pilgrims flocked to Jerusalem for the three great annual feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (see on Ex. 23:14–17; Lev. 23:2; Deut. 16:16, 17). The Pharisees hungered for righteousness; the common people hungered for the joy of religion; the nation hungered for the Messiah.

Religiously the common people were by no means as tied to the scrupulous observance of legal traditions as were the Pharisees. At the same time, however, the latter had considerable influence and did much to set the religious tone of the nation. This meant that traditionalism and ceremonialism played a large part in Jewish religious life

and thinking. For examples of Jewish religious restrictions and observances see comments on Matt. 23:23; Mark 2:18, 23, 24; 7:2–4, 9.

The Scribes.—This group was known in Hebrew as *sopherim*, “scribes,” “writers,” and in Greek as *grammateis*, literally, “secretaries,” or “clerks.” They were also, and more exactly, termed *nomikoi*, “lawyers” (Matt. 22:35; Luke 7:30; etc.), and *nomodidaskaloi*, “teachers of the law” (1 Tim. 1:7). It was their task to study and interpret the civil and religious law and apply it to the details of daily life. Their decisions, like those of the justices of a supreme court today, carried great weight and became the basis of future interpretation. This body of decisions constituted the “tradition” against which Jesus so often spoke and which He was so often charged with violating (Matt. 15:2, 3, 6; 7:2, 3, 8, 9). Noted scribes became great teachers among the Jews. During the time of Jesus the scribes were more influential than any other group of leaders. Many of them were members of the Sanhedrin probably referred to in Matt. 26:3. Some scribes accepted Christ (Matt. 8:19), but most of them were hopelessly prejudiced against Him (Matt. 16:21). Most were Pharisees.

The Synagogue.—The synagogue, literally, the “assembly,” was a focal point of Jewish community life. This characteristic institution of Judaism did not flourish until during and after the Babylonian captivity (see PK 612, 613). Tradition makes the prophet Ezekiel, one of the captives at Tel-abib by the river Chebar in Lower Mesopotamia, the founder of the synagogue. During the centuries that followed the Captivity the Jews voluntarily scattered throughout the known world, so that there was scarcely a city without its Jewish community (Acts 15:21), and every such community had its synagogue. One was to be established wherever there were ten adult males, and these ten became its first “rulers.”

Perhaps more than any other single institution, the synagogue served to preserve the religion, culture, and racial consciousness of the Jewish race. The synagogue was never a place of sacrifice like the Temple at Jerusalem, and thus was not considered a place of worship in the highest sense. Services were held there each Sabbath day, at which the reading and exposition of the Law and the Prophets constituted the center of attention. During the week the synagogue also often served as a local law court (see Mark 13:9), and generally as a school. The synagogue was essentially a place for scriptural instruction and for prayer. In foreign lands Jewish communities maintained a separate existence and managed their own civil and religious affairs, subject, of course, to the law of the land (Josephus *Antiquities* xix. 5. 3).

The priests were not directly connected with the administration of the synagogues, for there were no sacrifices, though they were often invited to participate in the services. The affairs of each synagogue and of the community attached to it were under the supervision of a board of elders (see Luke 7:3–5), or rulers (see Mark 5:22). The chief officer, the ruler of the synagogue (see Luke 8:49; 13:14), presided at the services or arranged for others to do so, and appointed suitable men from the congregation to pray, to read the Scriptures, and to exhort the congregation. There was no clergy as such. There was at least one lesser officer, a *chazzan*—equivalent to a deacon in the Christian church—who cared for the humbler duties, such as taking the rolls of the Law and the Prophets from

the ark and replacing them, and inflicting corporal punishment decided upon by the elders.

The ruins of synagogues, as early as the 2d century, may be seen at several sites in Palestine. Ruins at *Tel Hûm*, usually identified with Capernaum, date from the 3d century. Each synagogue was rectangular in shape, with its main entrance at the southern end. The more wealthy congregations decorated their synagogues with various ornamental devices, such as a scroll of vine leaves and bunches of grapes—Israel's national symbol—the seven-branched candlestick, a paschal lamb, the pot of manna, and many other objects and scenes from the Old Testament Scriptures. The main room of the synagogue was provided with a reading desk, a seat for the expounder, and a chest, or ark, that contained the rolls of the Law and the Prophets. There were seats, or benches, at least for the wealthier members of the congregation (see James 2:2, 3), those in the front near the reader's desk being considered the "chief seats" (see Matt. 23:6). The congregation faced the ark, and was divided, with the men (those 12 years of age and older) sitting on one side and the women and children (those between 5 and 12) on the other or on a balcony.

Attendance was required on Sabbaths and feast days, and it was considered a meritorious act to take part in the service, which by modern standards was apparently rather long. Authorities differ as to the details of the synagogue service in the 1st century, and as most of the available source materials are from rabbinical writings, it is difficult to be certain how much of it applies to the period before A.D. 70. The following outline, however, is probably a close approximation to the order of service in the synagogue as Jesus and the apostles knew it.

1. Recitation in unison of the *shema*—a confession of faith chiefly from such passages as Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41—before and after which a member of the congregation stood before the ark of the Law to offer, on the Sabbath, a sevenfold prayer (18 parts on other days), each part of which was confirmed by the "Amen!" of the congregation. Between the sixth and seventh parts of this prayer, priests, if present, ascended the platform of the ark, lifted their hands, and pronounced in unison the Aaronic blessing, from Lev. 9:22 and Num. 6:23–27.

2. The *parashah*, or reading of the appointed section of the Law (see Acts 13:15). Reverence for the Law required that the scroll be unrolled behind a curtain, out of sight of the congregation. The Law—the five books of Moses—was read through in a three-year cycle, with a definite portion assigned for each Sabbath. Each of those portions was divided into seven parts of at least three verses each. A different member of the congregation was called upon to read each of these subdivisions. Anyone who made the least mistake was immediately replaced by someone else. The reading of the Law was translated verse by verse from Hebrew into Aramaic, the language of the common people (see Neh. 8:1–8), by another person, to avoid the possibility that the translation should be mistaken for the actual text of the Scriptures.

3. The *haphṭarah*, or reading from the Prophets. Considered as less sacred than the Law, the scroll of the Prophets had one roller rather than two, like the Law, and might be unrolled in the sight of the congregation. There is no evidence that a cycle for the reading of the Prophets was followed during the time of Christ. Therefore, the scroll was probably handed to the one appointed by the ruler of the synagogue to read, and he chose

the passage to be read. It was this part of the service in which Jesus participated in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–22); using a reading from Isa. 61, He declared to the people His mission and its prophetic authorization. The one who read from the Prophets was called the “dismitter,” in view of the fact that this, together with his remarks and exhortation based on the passage read, constituted the closing part of the service.

4. The *derashah*, or “investigation,” “study,” a sermon usually given by a member of the congregation. Like the readers from the Law, the one who read the *haphṭarah* remained standing while he read. But for the sermon he sat down (Luke 4:20, 21). It was customary in Palestine (but not in the Diaspora) to sit down to preach. The sermon was usually based on the reading from the Prophets, but might also include that from the Law. In these discussions upon the prophetic messages, the speaker’s imagination often went far afield, through paraphrase, parable, or legend, in emphasizing what he understood the prophetic message to be. Visitors were often honored by being invited to deliver the discourse. Of this privilege Paul more than once availed himself (Acts 13:14–16; 14:1; 17:1, 2, 10, 11; 18:4; 19:8).

5. The sermon was followed by the benediction. This was offered by a priest, if one was present; otherwise a prayer was offered. In some places the singing of psalms was introduced into the service.

There were in Palestine not only synagogues for native Jews but also synagogues for Jews who had been born abroad and had returned to the homeland of their fathers. Thus at Jerusalem in the days of the apostles there was a synagogue of the Freedmen (“Libertines,” Acts 6:9), probably Jews, or their descendants, who had at one time been taken captive by the Romans and later set free. It was with the members of this synagogue that Stephen disputed.

There were also Jewish synagogues in Alexandria, in Antioch of Syria, in Rome, and evidently in virtually every other city of the empire, for Paul found them not only in such major places as Corinth, Ephesus, and Thessalonica, but also at Salamis in Cyprus, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Berea in Greece, and doubtless many other places that are not named.

It can be readily understood what a potent force the synagogue service exerted upon the Jewish people, with its emphasis upon law, duty, and spiritual hope and aspiration. Emphasis upon Torah, the revealed will of God (see on Deut. 31:9; Ps. 19:7), gave to the Jews an ethical tone that made them outstanding among the peoples of the Roman Empire.

The Schools.—Schools were particularly important to Jewish life in that they helped to shape its character and to establish its ethical system. Formal education had played a significant role in Israelite life from early times, as is indicated by the schools of the prophets founded by Samuel and re-established by Elijah (see PP 592–602). Jewish schools were inaugurated anew, probably about 90–80 B.C., in connection with the reformation of Simeon ben Shetah and Judah ben Tabbaï. They seem to have introduced schools into some of the synagogues in order to make permanent the stricter observance of ceremonial law and the better-regulated ritual that their reforms had brought about.

Among the Jews the primary responsibility for the education of youth had always lain with the father and mother in the home. They were expected to give their children a knowledge of the Torah and of the main tenets of Judaism. But in the shattering

experiences through which the nation had passed, home life had been disrupted and parents themselves often needed instruction. To remedy this situation schools were established with scribes as teachers, to inculcate in the children's minds those things that would keep them true to Judaism in later years and thus would build up the nation. The town that did not provide for the religious instruction of its youth was considered to be under the curse of God (DA 69).

Though these schools filled a definite need, they grew but slowly. The education offered was only for boys. For those from well-to-do homes in the larger towns, it was a simple thing to find time and opportunity for study. But for poorer boys in smaller places, the finding of leisure for education presented serious difficulties. To keep life even at a subsistence level, it was often necessary for boys to work in the fields or at the bench with their parents. It was not, in fact, until the time of the high priest Jesus the son of Gamaliel (Joshua ben Gamla), just before the outbreak of the Roman war of A.D. 66–73, that schools were to be found in every district and in every town of any standing.

Instruction in these elementary schools was simple and rudimentary. Although reading and simple figuring were taught, the Torah was the basis of all learning. Instruction was chiefly in the ordinances and rituals of the Jewish religion, its meaning, and the importance of meeting every obligation of the law.

For privileged children of intelligence and talent there were higher schools, to which poorer lads could rarely aspire. Though the course of study in such institutions was more elaborate than in the elementary schools, still the Torah lay at its heart. These advanced schools were generally rather informal, centering on the teacher and meeting in some well-appointed synagogue or in a hall set aside for the purpose. Such higher schools existed in Jerusalem and in those larger cities abroad where there were sufficient Jews to furnish patronage and where the service of learned and influential teachers could be retained. One famous school in Jerusalem was that of Gamaliel (Acts 5:34–40), which Paul attended (Acts 22:3).

As has been pointed out, instruction in the schools at all levels was based upon Scripture and Jewish tradition. The Law and its interpretation, on the basis of tradition, was the beginning and end of instruction. Particular emphasis was placed upon what the scribes through the years had added of their wisdom.

Yet there must have been faithful Jews who were dissatisfied with such instruction in legalistic tradition, and who believed that with God's blessing and illumination they could better educate their children by teaching them at home. Such parents were Mary and Joseph of Nazareth. Jesus never attended a synagogue school (DA 70, 80). His mother was His teacher, who supplemented from the Scriptures and from her own experience with God and with life what Jesus learned from nature and from communion with His heavenly Father. Joseph taught Jesus the carpenter's trade and other practical things of life. Although His enemies declared of Jesus that He had "never learned" (John 7:15), His character and ethics as a man on earth were far superior to anything the schools might have given Him (see DA 80).

The Diaspora.—For several centuries prior to the birth of Christ, the Jews had been scattered throughout the civilized world, carrying with them wherever they went a knowledge of the true God. Jewish communities were to be found in most cities of the Roman Empire. In some cities, like Nehardea and Nisibis in Mesopotamia, whence the wise men may have come, Jews formed a majority of the population. A large proportion

of the inhabitants of Syria were Jews. Philo Judaeus estimated the number of Jews in Egypt alone at one million. In Alexandria they are said to have constituted a third of the population. The Jews of the Dispersion, called the Diaspora, were clearly far greater in number than those who remained in Palestine.

Wherever the Jews went they established their synagogues, to which the Gentiles were welcome. For about two centuries the Old Testament had been available in Greek, the international language of the time, and it was widely studied by the educated classes. Jews and proselytes attended the great religious festivals at Jerusalem, particularly the Passover, and returned to tell others of what they had learned there (see Vol. IV, pp. 29, 30). Although they may not have been popular among their heathen neighbors, the Jews were nevertheless respected, being in general more prosperous. Their concept and practice of morality were incomparably superior to those of the heathen. Their family life was often a model admired by the pagans about them, who noted that Jews reared all their children (did not discard unwanted ones). In spite of their failure to measure up to the high ideals to which they might have attained, it is an undeniable fact that, in spite of themselves, the Jews bore throughout the world an important and effective testimony to the one true God, Creator and Sustainer of all things (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 27-30).

Classical Roman writers show a familiarity with Jewish customs, though they do not always describe these customs accurately. Horace, for instance, mentions a friend who jokingly refused to talk business with him because it was the “thirtieth Sabbath,” and who asked, “‘Would you affront the circumcised Jews?’ ... ‘I’m a somewhat weaker brother, one of the many [who have religious scruples]’” (*Satires* i. 9. 68–73; Loeb ed., p. 111). Though obviously speaking in jest, nevertheless Horace’s friend shows himself as knowing that the Jews were supposed to refrain from talking business on their sacred days. His obscure reference to the “thirtieth Sabbath” has been interpreted in various ways, but no explanation for this phrase is fully satisfactory.

In many Gentile circles, however, the Jews appear to have been despised for their way of life, and particularly for their dietary restrictions and their Sabbath observance. Thus the Christian Father Augustine reports the philosopher Seneca as complaining of the Jews that “they act uselessly in keeping those seventh days, whereby they lose through idleness about the seventh part of their life” (*The City of God* vi. 11; *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 120). Similarly the satirist Juvenal declares: “Some who have had a father who reveres the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds, and the divinity of the heavens, and see no difference between eating swine’s flesh, from which their father abstained, and that of man; and in time they take to circumcision. ... For all which the father was to blame, who gave up every seventh day to idleness, keeping it apart from all the concerns of life” (*Satire* 14; Loeb ed., pp. 271, 273).

Tacitus, the Roman historian, presents Jewish religious practices in detail, but often misunderstands their origin and meaning. He asserts, “The Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor” (*History* v. 4; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 179). He attributes the Jews’ abstention from pork to their recollection of a plague of scab from which pigs once suffered. Their frequent fasts he understands to be in commemoration of a prolonged famine they had once undergone, and their use of unleavened bread he believes to be in memory of the haste with which they fell upon food when they finally obtained it. Concerning their observance of the Sabbath, Tacitus goes on to explain that the Jews “say that they first chose to rest on the seventh day

because that day ended their toils; but after a time they were led by the charms of indolence to give over the seventh year as well to inactivity" (*History* v. 4; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 181).

Other pagan writers who refer to Jewish practices are Dio Cassius *Roman History* xxxvii. 17; Augustus Caesar, quoted by Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* ii. 76; and Martial *Epigrams* iv. 4.

Jewish Influence.—In spite of these adverse opinions concerning the Jews, Cicero shows that Jewish influence was strong in Rome. In defending Flaccus, who, while governing the province of Asia in 62 B.C., had confiscated a large amount of gold that the Jews there had collected to send to the Temple in Jerusalem, Cicero declared of them: "You know what a big crowd it is, how they stick together, how influential they are in informal assemblies" (*Pro Flacco* ch. 28; Loeb ed., p. 437). However ironical this may be, it indicates that the Jews wielded a very real political influence. The prominence of such Jews as Herod Agrippa I (see p. 69) in the highest circles of Roman society and government brought some knowledge of Judaism to those areas of life.

There is also evidence that the Jewish Messianic expectation made an impact upon the Gentile world. Owing partly to the dissemination of a knowledge of the true God by the Jews, partly to the fact that heathen religions were losing their hold on the minds of thinking men, and partly to the interminable political turmoil that hung over civilization like a pall, there sprang up throughout the ancient world the expectation that a savior-king was soon to appear. Many among the Gentiles had a clearer understanding of the Messianic hope than even the Jewish religious leaders themselves (DA 33).

To be sure, this hope was perverted by the vast majority, many of whom applied it to one or another of the Caesars. One group of "wise men" even made a pilgrimage to Italy in quest of the savior-king. Inscriptions found in Priene and Halicarnassus apply Messianic language to the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). The Roman poet Virgil confirms the widespread nature of this popular Messianic hope:

"Now is come the last age of the song of Cumae; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do thou, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall first cease, and a golden race spring up throughout the world! ... Any lingering traces of our guilt shall become void, and release the earth from its continual dread. He shall have the gift of divine life, shall see heroes mingled with gods, and shall himself be seen of them, and shall sway a world to which his father's virtues have brought peace" (*Eclogue IV*; Loeb ed., vol. 1, pp. 29, 31).

The distinctly pagan Messianism of this eclogue, attributed by its composer to the oracle at Cumae, is probably to be traced to the strongly Jewish Sibylline Oracles, which in Virgil's time were already popular in the Roman world (see p. 89). In other ways Jewish Messianism in the Diaspora doubtless influenced Roman intellectuals during the Augustan era, and even later. Thus Suetonius, a Roman historian, wrote: "There had spread over all the Orient an old and established belief, that it was fated at that time for men coming from Judaea to rule the world. This prediction, referring to the emperor of Rome, as afterward appeared from the event, the people of Judaea took to themselves" (*The Lives of the Caesars* viii. 4; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 289). Various ancient historians report a similar expectation.

Popular application of these Messianic legends and prophecies to Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) seemed justified when, during his long and peaceful reign, "the troubled sea of civil commotions sank to rest. Peace and prosperity returned and took up their permanent abode in the empire" (M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, Vol. II, p. 198). Centuries of strife were "suddenly and quite unexpectedly followed by peace, and when the storm of civil war was laid all at once, it seemed natural to see in this a miracle, an interference of divine power in earthly affairs" (*ibid.*, p. 203). Tacitus spoke of "peace wholly unbroken or but slightly disturbed" (cited in James T. Shotwell, *An Introduction to the History of History*, p. 263). So appropriately did the era of peace seem to fulfill the popular expectation of a Messiah that Augustus was acclaimed a savior.

Proselytism.—Judaism was particularly remarkable for its ethical emphasis, which set it in sharp contrast with the generally amoral religions of the Roman world. The clients of the ancient pagan gods related themselves to their deities in terms of a contract. The priests revealed to their people the services they must render and the ritual they must follow in order to please their gods. When these requirements were acceptably performed, the gods, great and small, were under obligation at least not to annoy or harm the people, and at best to give them protection from trouble and to render them material benefits. Heathen religions today consist largely of similar attempts to placate the spirits.

The mystery cults, which grew rapidly in popularity during the imperial period, also were not primarily ethical. In these cults the worshiper sought to come into personal union with his god. Through stage after stage of initiation and ceremonial the devotee met cult requirements, at the end of which, if no irreverence in attitude or misstep in the rites interfered, he believed he would stand in the presence of the god himself. If the particular god worshiped was of a serene type, or the devotee of good disposition, the cult worship might prove of ethical value to him. But that effect would be secondary, almost accidental. Certain philosophical schools, notably Stoicism, exerted an ethical impact, but these scarcely touched the common people, nor can they rightly be regarded as religions.

As a consequence of this lack of ethics in pagan religion, the morality that the Jewish people acquired from their concept of deity and from the Torah attracted the attention of the people of the empire, especially since the Jews applied it in everyday living to a remarkable degree. Thus many were led to accept Judaism to a greater or lesser extent, and the New Testament speaks of various types of "proselytes," individuals who had newly entered the Jewish community of faith. See Vol. IV, pp. 27-30.

The centurion at Capernaum was perhaps one such proselyte, of whom the Jews said, "He loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue." This made him "worthy" in their sight (Luke 7:4, 5). Proselytes came to Jerusalem for Pentecost (Acts 2:10); Nicolas, a "proselyte of Antioch," was one of the first deacons of the Christian church (Acts 6:3-6); the Ethiopian eunuch "had come to Jerusalem for to worship" (Acts 8:27); the centurion Cornelius at Caesarea "feared God" and "prayed to God alway" (Acts 10:2); and the proselytes of Antioch in Pisidia listened earnestly to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:43). Jesus spoke roundly against the intensity of the Pharisees in proselyting, and the unfortunate spiritual consequences that devolved upon the proselyte (Matt. 23:15).

The Jews exercised considerable control over proselyting procedure. They stipulated three specific ceremonies through which a Gentile must pass in order to become a "proselyte of righteousness," that is, a full-fledged Jew. He must: (1) undergo circumcision; (2) be baptized by immersion, which baptism apparently lay in the

background of the Christian rite; and (3) offer sacrifice (permissible by proxy). This last requirement, of course, became impossible of fulfillment after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70.

Proselyting was carried on not only by the Jews within the boundaries of Judea and of Galilee but also by those of the Diaspora, those “scattered abroad.” Much of the success of proselyting arose from the fact that Gentiles often were attracted by the constancy of the Jew in his religion and by his inner spiritual serenity in the face of trouble, as well as by the fraternal feeling which their stalwart religious faith enabled the Jews to show in their relationships one to another. Thus, frequently, when Gentiles examined Judaism to discover what made it effective, they were led to embrace it. As heathen religions lost their hold, and the Jews everywhere carried on aggressive missionary work, proselytes to the Jewish faith could be numbered in the hundreds of thousands, if not in the millions, according to various competent modern scholars, both Jewish and Christian.

Josephus boasts of the numbers who accepted Judaism throughout the Gentile world: “The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed” (*Against Apion* ii. 39 [282]; Loeb ed., vol. 1, pp. 405, 407).

Herod’s Successors

When Herod died he left a will that determined who should inherit his kingdom. By its provisions the territories he had striven so earnestly and with such disregard of scruple to bring under one administration were divided among his sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip. Herod gave Archelaus, his oldest surviving son, Judea, Samaria, and Idumaea. Uncertain of his ability to rule, Rome granted him only the title “ethnarch,” meaning “ruler of the people.” Herod Antipas became “tetrarch” of Galilee and Peraea. This term, meaning originally “ruler of the fourth part of a province,” was applied in practice to the ruler of any provincial subdivision. Philip also received the title of “tetrarch” and the rulership of the northeast districts of Pnias, Ituraea, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis. See *Palestine Under the Herodians*.

Archelaus.—Upon his father’s death, Archelaus called together the people of Jerusalem. Sitting aloft on a golden throne in the Temple enclosure, he addressed them with fair words and promises. The people reacted by presenting many demands, calling for the release of prisoners, the remission of punishment for those charged with political crimes, and a reduction of taxes. It was Passover time, and the city was crowded. Fearing that an outbreak might occur, a company of soldiers entered the Temple court to keep order. These soldiers met resistance, and when a larger detachment arrived a fight resulted, in which some three thousand Jews were killed. Then Sabinus, administrator of Syria, took advantage of the presence of Roman soldiery, and had them protect him while he robbed the treasury. When this occurred, a widespread revolt in Galilee and Judea began. Such uprisings against the Romans were, of course, doomed to failure. Varus, governor of Syria, came to Palestine with an adequate force, quelled the revolt, and crucified two thousand of the unfortunate Jewish rebels.

Meanwhile, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip had left Palestine to make good their claims to the territory of their father. At the same time a deputation of Jews also appeared at Rome to plead with Augustus that they might be put under a Roman governor directly,

rather than under Herod's sons. But Augustus approved the arrangements of Herod's will, except that he refused to Archelaus any title higher than that of ethnarch. Thus the sons of Herod took over the administration of their father's kingdom.

Archelaus inherited his father's character without his capabilities. The people complained justly that his reign was barbarous and tyrannical, and in A.D. 6 Augustus banished him to Vienne in Gaul. Judea and Samaria were annexed to Syria, and were put under a Roman procurator, who was answerable to the emperor through the governor of Syria. This arrangement continued until Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great and his Hasmonaean wife Mariamne, became king in Judea in A.D. 41 by order of the emperor Caligula. See *Palestine Under the Herodians*.

Herod Antipas.—Herod Antipas was fairly successful in ruling Galilee and Peraea. Though he was reckless in expenditures, his craftiness enabled him to keep peace in Galilee, and thus to avoid the rebuke of Augustus, who understood his treacherous tendencies. Jesus read his character rightly when He called him "that fox" (Luke 13:32). With the accession of Tiberius to the imperial throne in A.D. 14, Antipas found himself in good favor. He built and named for the emperor the city of Tiberias on the west shore of the lake of Galilee, and also extended that name to the whole lake. Antipas did other extensive building throughout his tetrarchy. All of his efforts were in the direction of Hellenization, and his own profession of Judaism was little better than a sham. Antipas married a daughter of Aretas (see 2 Cor. 11:32), of the line of Nabataean rulers which had fought against the Romans in the war of 64–63 B.C. (see p. 38).

On occasion when Antipas visited Rome he renewed his acquaintance with Herodias, who was both his niece and his sister-in-law. Herodias, a daughter of Antipas' half brother Aristobulus, had married another of his half brothers (and her uncle), an obscure son of Herod the Great named Herod Philip. Antipas became infatuated with her, and she gladly consented to relinquish her Roman domicile for a Galilean palace. He then abandoned the daughter of Aretas and took Herodias from his half brother.

It was this shameful arrangement that John the Baptist denounced, a condemnation that resulted first in his imprisonment (Luke 3:19, 20), and then in his death at the command of Antipas when solicited by Herodias and her daughter Salome at a voluptuous banquet probably in the fortress of Machaerus (Matt. 14:3–12; Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 5. 2). Antipas believed superstitiously that Jesus might be John the Baptist risen from the dead (Matt. 14:1, 2), and at one time, at least, he seems to have sought to kill Him (Luke 13:31). At Jesus' trial, however, he refused to deliver the sentence demanded by the Jews, a sentence Pilate also hoped to avoid imposing (Luke 23:4–25).

Almost ten years passed before Antipas' former father-in-law, Aretas, could revenge himself for the divorce of his daughter. When quarrels over boundary lines between the territories of these kings led in A.D. 36 to war, Aretas inflicted a serious defeat upon Antipas' troops. Antipas then ordered the Roman commander Vitellius to avenge the defeat, but before the latter could do so the emperor Tiberius died and Vitellius refused to participate in the war.

Dynastic changes now involved Antipas and hastened his downfall. The new emperor, Caligula, was a close friend of Herod Agrippa I, a son of Aristobulus and brother of Herodias. Therefore as soon as Caligula came to power he gave to Agrippa the northeast territories that had been ruled by his uncle Philip, together with the title of king.

Aroused to jealousy by this favor shown her brother, Herodias insisted that Antipas go to Rome and ask the same title for himself. Against his better judgment, Antipas set out in A.D. 39, but in the meantime Agrippa reported to Caligula that Antipas had transgressed imperial regulations by accumulating a huge store of military armaments. Upon his arrival in Rome, Antipas was compelled by the emperor to acknowledge the truth of this accusation, and was promptly banished with his wife to Lyons in Gaul. Caligula then added Galilee and Peraea to the territories of Herod Agrippa I. See *Palestine Under the Herodians*.

Philip.—Herod's third son to succeed to rulership, Philip, was of a different caliber from his brothers. It has been said that Philip "made his leadership a blessing." Throughout his rule of 37 years he was always open to any appeal for justice, ever ready as he went about his territories to hear any case brought before him. Though his holdings were large compared with those of his brothers, they were economically retarded. With a mixed population, these territories experienced repeated uprisings, but never under Philip. His reign was one of peace in both domestic and foreign affairs. His marriage to Salome, a daughter of Herodias, facilitated friendly relations with Antipas in Galilee and Peraea during the closing years of his reign.

Although of Jewish blood through his mother, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, Philip, like the other sons of Herod the Great, was a pagan at heart. He was the first Jewish ruler to place human images on his coins. Such tendencies toward Hellenization were, of course, not an annoyance to his largely pagan people.

Philip's capital was at Paneas, the ancient sanctuary of the god Pan, near one of the sources of the Jordan River. Here he rebuilt and beautified the city, and called it Caesarea in honor of the emperor. In distinction from the other place of that name on the Mediterranean, this city was often known as Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27). Philip also rebuilt Bethsaida on the northeast shore of the Sea of Galilee, and named it Julias, for the daughter of Augustus.

Tiberius and the Jews.—Philip, and also Antipas, enjoyed the friendship of Tiberius, the Roman emperor, A.D. 14–37, but the Jews themselves felt that they did not share this good favor, and blamed their difficult relations with the emperor upon Sejanus, a treacherous counselor of Tiberius. In A.D. 19, because of an embezzlement in which certain Roman Jews had been involved, Tiberius banished all Jews from the capital. Whether this edict was strictly enforced is questionable. However, at the same time, apparently with the approval of the emperor, the Senate drafted 4,000 of the younger Jews of Rome to fight brigands on the island of Sardinia. This was particularly a hardship, for the Jews had up to this time been largely exempted from service in the armed forces of Rome, and some of these young conscripts suffered for their refusal to serve (Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 3. 5; Tacitus *Annals* ii. 85).

VII. Roman Government in Judea

The Procurators.—When Archelaus was deposed, his territories were annexed to the Roman province of Syria. As part of an imperial province, Judea was consequently ruled by a procurator, an agent of the emperor, rather than by a proconsul responsible to the Senate, as were many of the other provinces.

The headquarters of the Roman procurators in Judea was at Caesarea. There they had a small army at their disposal, made up largely of provincial troops. Although the salary of the procurator was paid from the imperial treasury, he also had certain opportunities

for improving his financial affairs while in office. One of these arose from the fact that he had supreme authority in judicial matters, even to the extent of life and death, except over those persons who could prove they were Roman citizens.

There were two main checks upon the procurator's authority. He was answerable, on the one hand, to the emperor, and also more locally to the legate of Syria, and on the other, less formally, to the Jewish Sanhedrin, which was ever on guard to see that he did not exceed his authority. At the same time, however, because of the political implications of the office, the high priesthood was filled only by his consent.

No matter how carefully the procurators exercised their powers—and they were by no means always cautious—they were not able to satisfy the Jewish people. It has been rightly said that the coming of the Roman procurators to Judea marked the beginning of the end of the Jewish nation, because the Jewish people refused to be content under foreign rule.

Taxation.—With the appointment of procurators came Roman taxation. This necessitated a census with a classification of population. An enrollment already had taken place at the time of the birth of Jesus, but whether this was accompanied by a tax is not known (see on Luke 2:1).

When the first procurator, Coponius, took over the rule of Judea in place of Archelaus, a tax was levied. This was of two kinds, a poll tax (*tributum capitis*) and a land tax (*tributum agri*). Both of these were deeply offensive to the Jews: the poll tax as an evidence of enslavement (Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 1. 1); the land tax as an offense to Jehovah, the real owner of the land and the dispenser of its bounties.

Although the Jews were thoroughly aroused over this tax, the high priest Joazar persuaded many of them to pay it peacefully. At the same time, however, a radical leader named Judas the Galilean stirred up a large number of persons to revolt. Quirinius, the Roman governor of Syria, suppressed this uprising with great sternness (Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 1. 1). This movement under Judas probably marks the beginning of the Zealots (see p. 54). It was to this uprising that Gamaliel referred when he advised the Sanhedrin to take no drastic action against the Christians (Acts 5:38, 39).

From this time on the Romans made no further attempt to tax the Jews directly. Rather, they farmed the taxes out to contractors, the publicans (*publicani*) of the New Testament. These men were hated and avoided as much as possible (Matt. 11:19; 21:31). Levi Matthew was of this despised class. That Jesus would accept him as an associate (Matt. 9:9–13) was an astonishment to the patriotic Jews.

The Sanhedrin.—The Sanhedrin, while a characteristically Jewish body and not an integral part of the Roman governmental administration, nevertheless exercised some influence in civil and political as well as in strictly religious affairs. Composed of 70 men of the highest repute and influence, it was the chief governing body for the Jewish people. Although it had jurisdiction only in Judea, the effect of its attitudes and decisions was felt among Jews throughout the world. At the same time the Sanhedrin did not interfere with local jurisdiction, which was in the hands of 11 regional bodies of elders throughout Judea. Rather, it reserved for itself matters national in scope and significance. It passed ordinances and enforced them, for which purpose it had a body of police at its disposal (Matt. 26:47; John 7:32). However, because of the over-all control of the Romans, its concern was largely religious. Thus it dealt with false prophets, such as Jesus

was supposed to be, and with upstart sects that needed to be suppressed lest they disturb the people. It was upon such a basis that Paul persecuted the Christians before his conversion (Acts 9:1, 2). Years later he himself barely escaped from similar prosecution (Acts 24:6–9). The Sanhedrin also discussed and settled points of doctrine and supervised the qualifications and appointment of the high priest, although in the case of this important officer both the Herods and the Roman procurators now and again interposed their authority. Over the Romans the Sanhedrin had no authority except in regard to profanation of the Temple, in which case the Jews could even execute a Roman (Josephus *War* vi. 2. 4 [126]). In 1871 an inscription was discovered that once had been posted in the Temple upon the wall separating the court of the Gentiles from that of the Israelites. It warned: “Let no foreigner enter within the barrier and enclosing wall about the Temple. But whoever may be caught shall be responsible for his own death that will follow.” A duplicate of this inscription was found nearly three quarters of a century later.

Although the high priest was the presiding officer of the Sanhedrin (see Matt. 26:57), the procurator could call it into session. Only in case of a death sentence, however, were its decisions subject to the procurator’s approval. In the case of Stephen’s stoning, the Sanhedrin resorted to bribery (AA 98, 99, 101).

After the uprising over the taxation levied by Coponius, affairs in Palestine were relatively quiet for many years. At the same time, however, the legalism and aloofness of the Pharisees, the intensity of the Zealots, who were slowly growing in numbers and influence, and the religious earnestness of the people in general encouraged a spirit of restlessness. It was during these years that Jesus was quietly and thoughtfully growing to maturity in Nazareth.

Pontius Pilate.—About A.D. 26 Pontius Pilate became procurator. His harsh and unbending character, as revealed by his methods of governing, brought to the surface the spirit of revolt that had been smoldering among the Jewish people.

Pilate attempted, at the outset, to bring the hated banners of the Roman legions into the city of Jerusalem, in the face of Jewish prejudice. To accomplish this, he had his soldiers carry them in at night. When this became known, a large delegation of irate Jews went to Caesarea, where, unintimidated by the drawn swords of the soldiers, they pressed into Pilate’s presence to protest his act. In the face of such reaction he soon found it wise to withdraw the army banners from Jerusalem.

To obtain a much-needed increase to the water supply of Jerusalem, Pilate built an additional aqueduct. For this project he used funds from the Temple treasury, and when the people reacted violently to such disregard for Temple property, he quelled them by a bloody massacre (Josephus *Antiquities* xviii. 3. 2). He followed up this offense by erecting in the city votive shields carrying the name of the emperor Tiberius. This threw the city once more into an uproar, and only when the emperor himself ordered the shields to be taken down was the tumult quieted.

One early morning in the spring of A.D. 31, a Man who had been quietly teaching the great basic truths the Jewish religion had always accepted, was brought before Pilate. This Man, Jesus of Nazareth, was accused of blasphemy and sedition. Although Pilate was not concerned with blasphemy, he was with sedition. Investigation, however, satisfied him that Jesus was not seditious. In the hope that he might avoid passing judgment in the case, he sent Him to Herod Antipas, who happened to be in Jerusalem, for it was in Herod’s territory that Jesus had grown up and spent much of His ministry.

But Herod refused jurisdiction, and sent Jesus back to Pilate. Pilate feared the mob, which cried out that he would be no friend of Caesar if he let the prisoner go. Thus he sentenced to death One who, he confessed, was innocent. The attitude of the Jews toward Jesus must have seemed strange to Pilate, for a few years before, when Judas the Galilean had revolted they had sought to defend him. Jesus had done only good and had taught only a life of peace. Their insistence on His death could hardly have increased Pilate's respect for them.

Pilate was governor of Judea at least five years more. His closing years were marred, especially, by the massacre of a group of Samaritans who had gathered at Mt. Gerizim to witness the discovery of sacred vessels supposedly hidden there by Moses. When the Samaritans reported this atrocity to Vitellius, Pilate's immediate superior in Syria, he ordered Pilate to account for his actions before Tiberius at Rome, and appointed a new procurator in his place. In 1961, at Caesarea, the name and title of Pontius Pilate were found for the first time on a contemporary Roman inscription.

Marcellus.—Under Marcellus, the next procurator, a serious outbreak threatened when Tiberius' successor, the self-infatuated Caligula, declared himself a god and ordered statues of himself set up in temples. There was trouble in Alexandria, where perhaps a third of the population was Jewish. (Many Jews had fled Palestine around 170 B.C. to avoid persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes and had flocked to the Jewish colony in Alexandria.) In Caligula's reign, fighting between Alexandrian Jews and Greeks resulted in the loss of many lives. The mob destroyed many synagogues and set up statues of the emperor in others. Caligula, incensed at the Jewish refusal to accept any images, determined to place his statue in the Jerusalem Temple by force. In self-defense the Alexandrian Jews formed a large delegation under the spokespersonship of Philo, the famous Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, and this group proceeded to Rome. Although they succeeded in procuring an audience with Caligula, the emperor refused to grant them concessions of any kind.

When the Jews in Jerusalem heard of the decree of Caligula, they prepared for the worst. Rioting followed, and the situation would almost certainly have gotten out of hand had not the death of the mad Caligula in A.D. 41 brought a solution to the problem. Claudius, his successor, canceled the hated decree.

Herod Agrippa I.—One of the first acts of the emperor Claudius was to reward his friend, King Herod Agrippa I, for the part he had played in arranging the emperor's accession to the throne in A.D. 41. Claudius added Judea and Samaria to the territories of Galilee, Peraea, and the northeast, which Herod Agrippa already ruled. Thus the territories once held by Herod the Great were again united under a Jewish ruler (see *Palestine Under the Herodians*).

Herod Agrippa I gave to Palestine such an excellent rule that his reign was called a golden day for Judea. Whatever his motives, he lived in careful observance of the laws of the Jews, keeping the ceremonies and carrying out the appointed sacrifices. So well did he get along with the Pharisees that, according to the Mishnah, they were willing to call him "brother." However, outside of Palestine, Agrippa, like his grandfather Herod the Great, was a patron of Hellenistic culture. In the neighboring city of Berytus (*Beirût*) he erected a theater and an amphitheater, and enjoyed Greek games there whenever he thought it wise to do so. In other places also he manifested his generosity and his interest in Greek culture.

To the degree that Agrippa was friendly to the Jews, to that degree he was an enemy of Christianity. Because it “pleased the Jews,” he put James, the brother of John, to death. For the same reason he also had Peter arrested and put in prison (Acts 12:1–3). Only the intervention of angelic power prevented Peter from suffering the same fate as his friend and colleague, James.

Shortly after this (A.D. 44) Herod Agrippa I died. Both Josephus (*Antiquities* xix. 8. 2) and the inspired record in Acts (ch. 12:20–23) tell the story. At Caesarea, the capital of the Judean-Samaritan province, Agrippa, beautifully clothed in glittering silver, was seated upon a judgment seat. As he addressed the people, the sun shone upon him, and they cried out, “It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.” While he was listening to these adulations, he was smitten with severe pain, and died within five days. Luke declares that his death was a judgment of God (Acts 12:23).

Later Procurators.—Herod Agrippa I had a son of the same name, who at the time of his father’s death was but 17 years old. The emperor Claudius was advised not to entrust to this young man the government of such a turbulent country as Palestine. It became, therefore, a province again, and Cuspius Fadus was made procurator. After more than a year he was followed by a Jew, Tiberius Alexander, a nephew of Philo Judaeus. But Alexander had given up the Jewish faith, and the very fact that he was an apostate made him unsatisfactory to the Jews. Their hatred was such that when he crucified James and Simon, sons of Judas the Galilean, a patriotic figure in Jewish minds, the Zealots revolted. In A.D. 48 Alexander was succeeded by Cumanus. See Palestine Under the Herodians.

Had a more skillful man than Cumanus come to the procuratorship, it is possible that the land might have been quieted, but the new governor permitted a number of small but irritating incidents to take place, which, because of the desperation of the people, kept the province in a constant state of turmoil. When a soldier in the Temple court insulted the worshipers, Cumanus, instead of punishing the offender, so handled the matter that in the resulting riot his soldiers killed a thousand people. When a Roman official was robbed and stripped by thieves, the procurator sent soldiers to plunder all the neighboring villages. When one of the soldiers tore in pieces a volume of the law, a riot was prevented only by the execution of the offender. At another time some Galileans on their way to a feast in Jerusalem were set upon by Samaritans, and many of them killed. In return for a bribe, Cumanus agreed to shelter the offending Samaritans. When revengeful Jews attacked the Samaritans, Cumanus punished them severely. To prevent an eruption of the people, Cumanus was recalled in A.D. 52.

Felix.—Cumanus was succeeded in the procuratorship of Judea by Antonius Felix, a freedman and brother of Pallas, minister of the emperor Claudius. Felix may already have been governor of part of Samaria, but if so, his experience there seems to have done little to prepare him for the larger responsibilities he now received. Tacitus, a Roman historian, says of him that he “practised every kind of cruelty and lust, wielding the power of king with all the instincts of a slave” (*Histories* v. 9; Loeb ed., vol. 2, pp. 191, 193). Felix seemed utterly unable to understand the temper of the Jewish people, and lacked any desire to ameliorate the conditions that aggravated them to desperation. He married Drusilla, a daughter of Agrippa I (see The Hasmonaeans and the Herods).

The Zealots, who had grown in influence during recent years, now greatly increased in numbers, and the Pharisees, patriotic Jews though they were, viewed with dread the

extremes to which the Zealots were going. To make matters worse, there arose at this time an organization called the Sicarii, or “daggersmen.” This group were unrelentingly determined that no one but Jews should remain in Judea. They sought to achieve this goal at any cost to themselves or to their country. To this end they used intimidation, plundering, and assassination when necessary, against anyone who showed the least sympathy for the Romans. Throughout the countryside they burned villages, plundered houses, and put people ruthlessly to death.

A wise man might have been able to restore peace, but Felix was not such a man. He seemed completely unable in any way to win the regard of the Jews, and particularly that of their fanatical patriots. The severity of his measures simply aggravated the situation. In reaction, disorderly leaders, professed prophets, sprang up, who attracted the people by vain promises and led them into tumults that accomplished nothing except their own death and the intense irritation of the Romans.

The properly constituted Jewish leaders did little to remedy the situation. The scribes were concerned with theology, and the priests with greedily securing from the Temple all the material profits they possibly could. So greedy for tithes was the dominant priestly clique, that it is said that some of the priests who were not of that party died for want of food. The conservatives, who feared the rashness of the Zealots and its consequences, were able to do little to quiet the storm. The common people were like sheep without a shepherd. All of this gradually led to an intensity of concern for the Torah and a fanatic desire to fulfill the minute observances of the law.

It was during this time that Paul conducted his great missionary tours, and it was by just such a fanatical mob as Felix had repeatedly dealt with that the apostle was attacked while in the Temple at Jerusalem. This riot arose when certain Jews from western Asia Minor falsely accused Paul of desecrating the Temple by bringing a Gentile into it. Though Paul was brought before Felix as a revolutionary, he spoke, not of insurrection, but of “righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.” Little wonder that “Felix trembled” (Acts 24:25).

Claudius and the Jews.—Probably toward the middle of his reign Claudius (died A.D. 54) expelled the Jews from Rome (see Acts 18:2). The reasons for this drastic action are not entirely clear. Suetonius simply says that “since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled them from Rome” (*The Lives of the Caesars* v. 25; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 53). It is possible to understand the Latin of this passage as meaning that the disturbances arose *against* Chrestus. No character by this name is known from any other record, and later Christians interpreted it as meaning *Christus*, Christ (see Lactantius *The Divine Institutes* iv. 7; Tertullian *Apology* ch. 3).

Thus it would be *against*, not *in favor of*, the followers of Christ that the Jews would have rioted. Inasmuch as outside of Rome the Jews raised tumults wherever Christians showed themselves at work (see Acts 14:2–6, 19; Acts 17:5–9, 13; 18:12–17; 19:8, 9), it would not be surprising if the Jews did the same in the capital.

At the same time, however, Claudius continued the favorable policy of his predecessors toward the Herods, which by now was almost traditional. Although Claudius had disregarded the claims of Herod Agrippa’s son upon his father’s death in A.D. 44, yet after the latter’s uncle, the king of Chalcis in the Anti-Lebanon, died some four years later, Claudius gave his kingdom in A.D. 50 to the young Herod Agrippa II. Later the emperor promoted him further by transferring him to the larger territories in

northeast Palestine once held by Philip the tetrarch. Still later Nero added to his holdings. In the war of A.D. 66–73, Herod Agrippa II sided with the Romans against the Jews. See Palestine Under the Herodians.

Porcius Festus.—Probably in A.D. 60, Felix returned to Rome, and Porcius Festus took his place as procurator in Palestine. Festus was able and honest, but came on the scene too late to accomplish any lasting improvement in the rapidly disintegrating political situation. Consequently his procuratorship was distinguished only by the continuance of disorder, the rising strength of the Zealots, and the increasing defiance of the Sicarii. After only two years Festus died in office. It was this procurator who sent Paul, at his own request, to stand trial before Nero (Acts 25:11, 12). See Palestine Under the Herodians.

The Death of James.—Just after the death of Festus and before the arrival of his successor, Ananus, the high priest, brought before the Sanhedrin James, the Lord's brother. This was probably the same James who had presided at the Council of Jerusalem some thirteen years before, and had also written the Epistle of James. The Jewish leaders stoned him to death along with some others for "breaking the law." Josephus states that when the new procurator received protests from leading Jews, he sternly rebuked Ananus for assembling the Sanhedrin and delivering a death sentence without his consent. Herod Agrippa II, who controlled the high priesthood, removed Ananus from office after a tenure of only three months (Josephus *Antiquities* xx. 9. 1).

Albinus.—Festus' successor was Albinus, who arrived doubtless under stern orders to restore order in Judea. He proceeded at once against the Sicarii, who in turn resisted the more sharply and effectively. One of their devices was to kidnap a highly placed Jew, and under threat of taking his life, demand that the high priest secure from the Romans the liberation of their fellows who were held prisoners. The situation was further complicated by a bitter division among the priests, which arose when Herod Agrippa II appointed a new high priest. This brought about petty riots.

Instead of being a cure for the troubles in Judea, Albinus was the cause of more. Josephus declares that "there was no form of villainy which he omitted to practise" (*War* ii. 14. 1 [272]; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 429). His greed for money knew no bounds. He plundered private property, imposed more burdensome taxes than usual, freely accepted bribes for the release of criminals, and even went so far as to grant immunity, for money, to those Jews who were actively carrying on sedition against the Romans.

In response to this misrule the Zealots became still more inflamed and the Sicarii more aggressive. Peace-loving people lived in fear of their lives and without hope of justice. When they appealed to Rome, Albinus was ordered home. Receiving word of his recall, he endeavored to quiet matters by appeasing the seditious elements with flattery, cajolery, and bribes. This catering to disorderly groups only worsened matters, and the whole country became like a mass of combustible material, ready to ignite.

Florus.—Gessius Florus succeeded Albinus, and a more unhappy appointment could scarcely have been made. Florus did all the foolish, inconsiderate, violent, and wicked things that his predecessor had done, and did them boldly, openly, and as of right. Josephus says, "Gessius Florus made him [Albinus] appear by comparison a paragon of virtue" (*War* ii. 14. 2 [277]; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 431). See Palestine Under the Herodians.

Florus arrived in Palestine in A.D. 64. It was inevitable now that war must come. Repeatedly bands of Jews had robbed stores of Roman arms, and thus some of the Jewish

partisans were well equipped for war. At the Passover of A.D. 65, when the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, came to Jerusalem on a tour of his provinces, a crowd of petitioners waited upon him, asking redress. Gallus promised to admonish Florus, who was his subordinate, but when he did so, Florus justified himself, and blamed the Jews for the difficulties. Their past record of insubordination gave color, of course, to Florus' arguments.

At the same time it appears that Florus hoped for a war with the Jews in order to hide his own shameful conduct. Repeatedly, and apparently purposely, he seemed to induce rebellion, and war was not long in coming. Josephus dates the beginning of the rebellion against the Romans from an event that occurred in the spring of A.D. 66 (*War* ii. 14. 4 [284–288]). Florus accepted bribes from Jews that permitted them to avenge themselves, without fear of punishment, upon Greeks who had dishonored a synagogue in Caesarea. When this affair was at a crisis point, he demanded from the Temple treasury 17 talents, that is, 1,275 pounds, of silver, under excuse of its being for "Caesar's need." This aroused the people thoroughly, and in irony a few began to collect money for the "destitute." Florus used this insult as a pretext to attack the Jews. The next day his soldiers in Jerusalem massacred everyone in the market place, broke into homes, and looted and killed men, women, and children. Florus went beyond what any previous governor had dared to do, and even crucified, without a trial, Jews who had been given Roman knightly rank. Josephus numbers the men, women, and children killed in this affair at 3,600. Bernice, the sister of Herod Agrippa II, was a witness to the massacre and sought to stay Florus' hand. However, her efforts to prevent further bloodshed proved unsuccessful.

The day after the massacre more Jews lost their lives when, under another pretext of insult, Florus had two cohorts of soldiers override a multitude gathered to meet the Romans in peace.

Herod Agrippa's Intervention.—Herod Agrippa II, who had been absent in Alexandria, now returned and made an earnest speech to the people of Jerusalem, urging them not to contemplate a conflict with the Romans, but rather to make peace at any cost. He pointed out that the time to have fought for liberty was when Pompey came to Judea, one hundred years before. He referred to the great empires and famous cities of the past which now were all subject to Rome. He reminded the people that they would have no earthly allies to join them if they revolted, and that even God seemed to be on the side of the Romans, else they could not have built so great an empire. Rebellion against the Romans could lead only to disaster, not only to the people in Judea, to the city, and to their beautiful Temple, but also to the Jews abroad, "for there is," said the king, "not a people in the world which does not contain a portion of our race" (*War* ii. 16.4 [398]; Loeb ed., vol. 2, p. 479).

At the king's advice the people of Jerusalem consented to busy themselves with the rebuilding of damaged structures in the city, particularly in the Temple precincts, and to collect and pay such taxes as were in arrears. But when Agrippa urged them to submit to Florus, they became so incensed that they voted the king's banishment from Jerusalem. Agrippa thereupon returned to his own dominions.

VIII. The Jewish-Roman War, A.D. 66–73

The Beginnings of the Revolt.—In the summer of 66 two things happened, either of which meant war. Jewish insurgents captured from the Romans the fortress of Masada; and the priests stopped offering the daily sacrifice for Rome and for the emperor. Under pressure from fanatical Jews, the priests effected this by ruling that no offerings from foreign hands should be received in the Temple, and at least some of this daily offering of two lambs and a bull had been provided from the imperial treasury.

The conservatives among the Jews who wished to avoid war realized the desperate crisis that had come, and, unable to influence the insurrectionists, sent two delegations, one to Florus and the other to King Agrippa. Florus made no reply, but Agrippa sent 2,000 cavalry to help them keep order.

By this time Eleazar, leader of the radical party and a relative of the high priest, had occupied the lower city and the Temple. The conservatives, with Agrippa's cavalry, occupied the upper city. When they sought to drive the insurgents out of the Temple precincts there followed a week's bloody conflict, with great slaughter on both sides. The close of the week brought a feast day, when a number of people pressed into the Temple with many of the Sicarii. Outnumbered, the conservatives retired from the upper city, and either escaped from Jerusalem entirely or took refuge in the palace, from which they were afterward given safe-conduct. The Roman soldiers took to the towers, but soon found themselves besieged there. However, in the meantime Sicarii had killed the high priest and his brother, and factions of the extremists were fighting among themselves. Indeed it seemed almost as if the rebellion might destroy itself. The people pleaded in vain with the warring factions to make peace. When the few Roman soldiers now left in the palace tower offered to surrender, they were treacherously massacred.

Now the Jews became involved in a series of unbelievably bloody massacres. Just as they were wiping out the handful of legionaries who had surrendered at Jerusalem, the Gentiles of Caesarea arose, and in one hour, according to Josephus, killed more than 20,000 Jews there (*War* ii. 18. 1 [457]). Florus ordered the remnant sent in chains to the galleys. In retaliation the Jews killed Gentiles in such cities as Machaerus and Jericho, where the latter were in the minority. They also massacred Gentiles in the regions of old Philistia, Phoenicia, and the northeast provinces, extending up into Syria.

At Scythopolis (Beth-shan) near the Jordan River on the border of Galilee and Samaria, the local Jews joined with their Gentile neighbors in resisting the attacking hordes of Jewish insurrectionists, hoping thereby to guarantee later safety for themselves with the Gentiles. Suspicious of treachery, the Gentile inhabitants ordered these local Jews to withdraw to a grove until the battle was over. Three days later they massacred all these Jews, who are said to have numbered 13,000. Gentiles in other cities also attacked the Jews, and thousands were slain and more thousands put in chains. As far away as Alexandria, when a riot occurred, Roman soldiers fell upon the Jews and killed, according to Josephus, 50,000 men, women, and children (*War* ii. 18. 8 [497]).

The Campaign of Cestius Gallus.—The governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, now took a hand. Leading a force of some 12,000 legionaries with 1,000 cavalry and nearly 15,000

⁵Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

auxiliaries composed of foot soldiers, archers, and mounted men, he marched down the coast pursuing the Jewish insurrectionists, who fled before him.

At Ptolemais the Jews waited until he had passed on, and then slew a garrison of 2,000 soldiers. Cestius continued south, and when he reached Joppa, he put more than 8,000 Jews to the sword. In other towns he carried out similar atrocities. In Galilee, into which he sent a strong detachment, the Jews fled, fighting only when they thought they could do so successfully; there the Romans killed some 2,000 of them.

In the autumn of A.D. 66, Cestius next concentrated his entire force upon Jerusalem. He arrived during the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, and although it was Sabbath, the Jews abandoned their religious rites and rushed out to attack Cestius' troops. To the amazement of both Romans and Jews, they broke the Roman ranks. Indeed, Josephus declares that only a flank attack by a force of footmen and cavalry saved Cestius' forces. More than 500 Roman soldiers were killed, whereas the Jews lost only 22 men (*War* ii. 19. 2 [519]). At this point Agrippa sent an embassy to the Jews; their reaction was to attack his representatives, killing one and wounding the other. Encouraged by a promise of the royalist party in Jerusalem to open the gates for him, Cestius then gathered his troops to a fresh assault, and penetrated as far as the north wall of the Temple. Then an astounding thing happened: Cestius withdrew his troops, and placed himself strategically in such a poor position among the Judean hills that the Jews were able to attack him and kill more than 5,000 infantry and nearly 500 cavalry, including many officers, as well as to capture much matériel.

A Lull in the Storm.—The defeat and withdrawal of Cestius gave many of the conservative Jews a chance to flee from Jerusalem. Some of them joined Agrippa, others sought quiet in country places, and still others left the country entirely. It was at this time that the Christians in Jerusalem fled in accordance with the warning of Jesus recorded in Matt. 24:15–19. According to Eusebius, the 4th-century church historian, the Christians in Jerusalem had been warned by prophets before the war began that they should leave the doomed city and find refuge at Pella in Peraea. They now took this opportunity to make good their escape (*Ecclesiastical History* iii. 5. 3). During this time of comparative peace in Judea, however, the Jews of Damascus suffered bitterly. The Gentiles there had penned them up in the gymnasium under suspicion. When they learned of the Jewish victory in Jerusalem, they massacred more than 10,000 of them in one day.

The combination of disaster in the provinces and unexpected victory over Cestius at Jerusalem led the Jews finally to attempt some sort of unity. Eleazar, an extremist, gained command in the city, while generals went out to rally the forces of the Jews in various areas.

Josephus.—Joseph, son of Matthias, later, as Flavius Josephus, to be historian of the war, was assigned to Galilee. His program of action was probably illustrative of the endeavors of other generals. He sought to gain the friendship of the people, built fortifications, and trained troops. At the beginning of his work he had 100,000 men equipped with whatever kind of weapons he could find, of whom 65,000 were ready for action. He entrusted John of Gischala, a Zealot, with some troops, but eventually John repudiated Josephus' leadership and fought against him.

The Coming of Vespasian.—Rome viewed rebellious Judea not merely as a sore spot in the empire, but as an infectious center of rebellion that might spread. Nero decided, therefore, to appoint as general in supreme command of Syria a lifelong

professional soldier, Flavius Vespasianus. Not only had he campaigned successfully against the Germans and had subjugated Britain; he also had political experience. Vespasian was with Nero on a tour in Greece when the emperor decided to give the Syrian commission to him. Vespasian proceeded to Syria and gathered his army at Antioch. While this was in progress a force of Jews attacked Ascalon. They were defeated by a small Roman garrison and lost two generals and 10,000 men.

The Subjugation of Galilee.—Vespasian established his headquarters at Ptolemais, on the coast north of Mt. Carmel. There, with the aid of his capable son, Titus, he gathered some 60,000 troops, of whom about 35,000 were first-line soldiers.

This location at Ptolemais put Vespasian in a position to attack Galilee. Small, bloody battles resulted between his troops and the Jews. The army of Josephus melted before the Romans, who, as they advanced, destroyed everything as a warning against further revolt. With the remnant of his troops, Josephus took up his position in Jotapata, which Vespasian immediately besieged. Surprisingly, the town held out against great odds for 47 days. When it fell (July of A.D. 67), the Romans massacred 40,000 Jews. While the siege was in progress, Trajan, father of the future Roman emperor of that name, captured nearby Japha, where he killed 27,000 Jews and sold 2,000 more into slavery. In Samaria the Romans destroyed 11,000 persons in battle at Mt. Gerizim.

Josephus fled from Jotapata with a few soldiers, and took refuge in a cave, where by agreement each soldier killed a fellow soldier in turn, until only Josephus and one other remained. These two surrendered to the Romans. (See under “Josephus,” p. 94, for further comment on this Jewish leader.)

The Romans next took Joppa. There a storm destroyed the ships upon which many of the inhabitants had taken refuge, and the Romans massacred those cast up on the beach. Altogether 4,000 were killed there, and the city was razed.

Vespasian’s ruthlessly bloody method was to destroy Jewish centers outside Jerusalem and thus to cut off supplies from the capital. He planned later to center his forces on Jerusalem. By the winter of A.D. 67 revolt had ceased in Galilee and the cities of the coast. John of Gischala, the leader in Galilee who had opposed Josephus, fled to Jerusalem, where the war party welcomed him warmly.

Fighting Among the Jews.—As the Romans left one devastated town after another behind them, groups of marauders moved in and carried on minor civil conflicts. The people of these towns fled when possible to Jerusalem, swelling the numbers there to be fed and kept in order. At last, sensing the importance of united action, the marauders came together and also moved into Jerusalem, where they took over control of affairs. They apprehended the best men of the city, who were opposed to violence because they saw its futility, and put many of them to death on the charge of treating with the Romans.

When the people organized a revolt against these lawless extremists, the latter fortified themselves in the Temple area and chose by lot an entirely unworthy creature for high priest. A bitter fight followed between the conservatives in the city and the Zealots and their daggersmen within the Temple walls. The latter appealed to the Idumaeans for help, and admitted a large force of them into the city. A particularly bloody massacre of members of the conservative party resulted. Later, the Idumaeans realized that they had been tricked into supporting the worst element in the city, and they withdrew, disgusted at having been thus caught at so dangerous a moment. John of Gischala now gained the leadership of those who were determined to carry on the war to the bitter end.

Vespasian's officers urged him to move upon Jerusalem at this juncture, but he declined, wisely deciding to let the Jews exhaust their provisions and themselves in fighting one another. Thus the winter of 67–68 passed in comparative quiet.

At the opening of spring in A.D. 68 Vespasian proceeded with the subjugation of Peraea, which he carried out with merciless and bloody efficiency. He then moved to complete the conquest of Judea and Idumaea. By mid-June the Romans occupied an almost deserted Jericho.

Vespasian the Emperor.—Vespasian was about to lay siege to Jerusalem when word came of Nero's death. He looked on from a distance through the election and assassination in quick succession of Galba and Otho, and soon accepted his own election as emperor by troops in Egypt and Near East. Turning over to his trusted son, Titus, the management of the campaign against Jerusalem, Vespasian moved slowly toward Rome. Vitellius, who had sought the purple after Otho was killed, was himself put out of the way by partisans of Vespasian, and the latter became emperor in fact. See Palestine Under the Herodians.

A Jewish Civil War.—With the Roman troops lying at rest for the moment, a Jewish leader by the name of Simon bar Giora began a marauding campaign through Judea and Idumaea, plundering and killing. Eventually he came before Jerusalem, where some of the Zealots, who at first had opposed him, admitted him with his forces. Then Eleazar, son of Simon, another insurgent leader, formed a new group to oppose Simon bar Giora, and civil war within Jerusalem broke out once more. Thus Vespasian's policy of waiting was vindicated by the formation of three factions among the Jewish extremists: the followers of John of Gischala, those of Simon, and those of Eleazar, who by destroying one another made the Romans' task easier.

The Siege of Jerusalem.—Titus occupied the Mount of Olives in the spring of A.D. 70 and laid siege to Jerusalem. Sallies by the Jews delayed the Romans, and the tricks they played in fighting infuriated the besiegers and prepared their minds for the unmitigated cruelties they were soon to commit. The story of the siege is dreary record of attacks and counterattacks, of sorties and bombardments, and of an increasing toll of death. The Jews were fanatically brave, and the Romans became bitterly angry. Under pressure of danger the factions among the Zealots effected a precarious union, but by May 25, A.D. 70, Titus had captured the outer wall, and a week later he held the second one. Within the city, where thousands had crowded together at the time of the Passover, misery was extreme. From outside the walls Josephus pleaded in vain with the Jews to surrender, but they continued to fight both among themselves and against the Romans. In full sight of the defenders Titus crucified the Jews he captured. Provisions ran short in the city and disease broke out. Josephus preserves a report that between May 1 and July 20, over 100,000 corpses were carried outside the city for burial.

The Fall of the City.—The end was now in sight. On July 25 the Romans took the Tower of Antonia, where the fighting gave opportunity for marvels of personal valor. Not realizing how desperate was the state of the Jews, the Romans were seized by despondency, and Titus was barely able to rouse them from it. The situation now deteriorated rapidly. Some Jews of the nobility deserted to the Romans; famine was general, and a woman in deep despair even roasted and ate her infant son.

On August 30, against Titus' orders, the Temple was set on fire and destroyed. The Roman soldiers could not be restrained from taking both property and life. Titus

succeeded in saving the golden seven-branched candle-stick and some other trophies for his triumph in Rome, but otherwise the ruin was complete. Both the lower and the upper city were set on fire, the walls were broken down, and as far as topography permitted, the site was leveled. Except for the three towers of Herod's palace, all Jerusalem was destroyed.

The savagery of the slaughter which marked the siege and capture of Jerusalem was perhaps the worst in the long history of Roman wars. The Jews fought one another to the death, and they fought the Romans with the courage of desperation, for the latter had no desire but to kill as many of them as possible. The conquerors sold thousands of Jews into slavery, and they sent other thousands to various cities to perish in the arenas. Titus reserved the tallest and handsomest of his captives for his triumph in Rome. It is said that 11,000 prisoners starved to death in the days that were spent in classifying and dividing the hordes of captives. Josephus estimates that the Romans took 97,000 prisoners. He calculates those who died from the siege to have reached the almost unbelievable figure of 1,100,000. He declares that the large majority of those who perished, though Jews, were visitors to the city rather than dwellers there (*War* vi. 9. 3 [420, 421]). With the immediate task of conquest over, Titus returned to Rome with his prisoners and trophies, exhibiting them on the way. At Rome he enjoyed a magnificent triumphal procession, which still is commemorated by the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum. On it is portrayed, among other trophies, the seven-branched candlestick from the Temple (see illustration, Vol. III, p. 40).

Fighting continued in Judea for three years, while the Romans conquered fortress after fortress and either killed or enslaved the Jews they captured. By May of A.D. 73 the bloody Jewish-Roman war was over.

IX. The Postwar Period

With the Temple gone, the Sanhedrin dispersed, and all means of self-government removed, only the synagogue remained. Consequently, though the Jews were still a race, from this time on they should be looked upon rather as a church than as a nation.

As a church, the Jews centered their lives more than ever on the synagogue. With the sacrifices no longer offered, and even the temple of Onias in Egypt closed, they looked to the Law as their present source of strength, while they focused their hope for the future on the Messiah they believed would yet come. The Law brought them an inner conviction of righteousness, which was the more needed now since the whole people were immersed in gloom and their hearts were burdened with a sense of failure and futility. The Messianic hope brought them assurance of national restoration, together with the promise of even more than they had lost. Although the Jews in this sad time could have no political life of their own, the Romans did not withdraw their political rights in the empire or interfere at all with their use of the synagogues.

The Council of Jamnia.—The Sanhedrin did not escape as a body from Jerusalem, as some have said; rather, a new council was formed at Jammia (Jabneh), a town on the coast below Joppa. The leader of this new center of Judaism was Johanan ben Zakkai, a Pharisee, a rabbi, and a disciple of the famous teacher Hillel. During the Jewish war he was a conservative, and when he saw where the leadership of the Zealots had taken the people, he escaped from Jerusalem in a coffin and surrendered himself to the Romans. After the war he obtained permission to establish a college at Jamnia. Here rabbis of conviction, intellectual stature, and influence gathered to establish the new council.

Although the Jews were now compelled to pay the Roman temple tax, the money they had previously sent to their own Temple now came to Jamnia, and thus the council sitting there had funds. Although this council had no legislative or judicial powers in any political sense, it did lead out in codifying the law and the interpretations of the rabbis. Thus it began the work which later produced the Talmud. The decisions of the council in matters of the law made themselves felt among the dispersed Jews, known as the Diaspora. More important still, it was the council of Jamnia that officially reaffirmed the canon of the Old Testament. It refused to recognize the authority of the writings of the Apocrypha (see Vol. I, p. 43).

The Rebellion Under Trajan.—The freedom the Jews enjoyed under Vespasian (A.D. 69–79) and Titus (A.D. 79–81) disappeared under Domitian (A.D. 81–96). Noted for his persecution of Christians, Domitian was equally ruthless with the Jews. Any Jew who sought to conceal his nationality was punished, and proselytes to Judaism suffered loss of property and even of life. This persecution crystallized again the Jews' sense of nationality, and once more aroused their feeling of outrage.

Nerva (A.D. 96–98) put an end to the disabilities of the Jews before the law. But 15 years later their simmering sense of outrage boiled over, and in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus they broke out in revolt, attacking their Gentile neighbors rather than the political rulers. When the emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117) led his troops against the Parthians, the Jews in Mesopotamia revolted. The Romans retaliated against every uprising of the Jews, and put them down without mercy and with heavy loss of life.

The Revolt Under Hadrian.—Like Nerva and Trajan, their successor, Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), might be described as a good man, conscious of the dignity of his office and determined in its administration. He traveled much, and knew his empire and its people. He was first of all a Roman, concerned with the welfare of Rome and of the empire. Therefore, he completed without mercy the task of stamping out the remnants of the bloody revolt that had taken place under Trajan. The emperor forbade circumcision, and in A.D. 130 he ordered that Jerusalem should be rebuilt as a pagan city, with a shrine to Jupiter erected upon the Temple site. This was more than the Jews could bear, not only because it put an end to their hopes of soon rebuilding their own Temple, but also because it meant that heathen sacrifices would constantly defile Jehovah's holy place.

Consequently, in A.D. 132 the Palestinian Jews rose once more in rebellion. Encouraged by the revered Rabbi Akiba, they hailed the leader of the uprising, Simon bar Cocheba, as the long-awaited Messiah. Under his leadership they fought, almost to a man, against the Romans. If for this war there were extant as full a record as Josephus gives of the war under Vespasian, it would tell an amazing story of courage, fanaticism, and bloodshed. Dio Cassius, the historian of Rome, estimates (*History* lxix. 14) that over half a million Jews lost their lives in the fighting, besides the unnumbered multitudes of civilians who succumbed to famine, disease, and the ravages of war. In A.D. 135, after three and one-half years of bitter warfare, the Romans were once more victorious, and the Jews again prostrate before their conquerors. Jerusalem, renamed *Aelia Capitolina*, became a Gentile city, which no Jew might enter upon pain of death. A temple to Jupiter was erected on the Temple site. See on Dan. 9:27.

These repeated rebellions put the Jews in an equivocal light before the Roman government and people. They were cursed, sneered at, and ridiculed, and watched guardedly lest they again revolt. The Romans called them in contempt the "second race,"

and they referred even more sneeringly to the Christians as the “third race.” But 75 years later, under Caracalla, the Jews shared with all the people of the empire the general gift of Roman citizenship. By this time, however, Christianity was growing steadily. When it became a legal religion of the empire under the emperor Constantine in A.D. 313, the Jews once more found themselves confronted with serious disadvantages generally throughout the empire.

X. Jews and Christians

The Jews’ Repudiation of Christianity.—The book of Acts relates instances of trouble made by Jews for the early Christians in various places (see Acts 14:2–6, 19; 17:5–9, 13; 18:12–17; 19:13). There were many sects in Judaism, all recognized as part of the Jewish religious community, and they had a remarkable measure of freedom as far as other Jews were concerned. But with Christianity the case was different. The council of Jamnia (c. A.D. 90) cast out Jewish Christians from the synagogue.

Repudiated by the Jews, the Christian group had no national grounds for its existence. The Romans officially recognized the Jewish religion, but when the Jews rejected Christianity, it was left without legal status. Thus, until the time of Constantine the Christians remained an illegal group.

Attitude of the Christians to the Jews.—Throughout the New Testament period there is no record that Christians showed hatred toward the Jews. Rather, they sought to win them to Christ. They mourned the fact that the Jews would not accept the gospel, and continued their missionary work in the face of Jewish-inspired persecutions. Paul, indeed, warned of what the Jews were doing (1 Thess. 2:14–16), but there is no record of Christian hatred against them, though that came soon after.

Through the labors of Paul and others like him the number of Gentiles in the Christian church increased rapidly, and the time came when they were in the majority. Paul had won for these converts freedom from following the Mosaic ritual, a fact which certain Jews within the Christian church resented. This, together with Gentile Christian reaction, produced a gulf between them on the one hand, and both Christian and non-Christian Jews on the other.

The Effect of the Jewish Revolts.—When the series of Jewish revolts came, the fact that Christianity was looked upon widely as a Jewish sect put the Christians in a difficult position. If they allowed themselves to be taken for Jews, they might well suffer what the Jews were enduring as a consequence of their rebellions. Therefore, Christian apologists of the 2d century began to emphasize the difference between themselves and the Jews. Thus the hatred of the Jews for Christianity, together with their revolts against the Romans, pushed Christianity rapidly into a Gentile environment, while it isolated the Jews themselves even more from the world about them. The history of the Jews in the 1st century—the period in which Christ came to them and they rejected Him—is indeed an impressive fulfillment of the doleful prophecy of Moses concerning the calamities that would come upon Israel if they were disobedient to God (Deut. 28:15–68). After A.D. 70, and certainly after A.D. 135, the Jews lost the significance they had as a nation. Even though the ensuing centuries saw great cultural development among them, this development was itself at least partially an outgrowth of the isolated position in which they found themselves. Not until recent modern times has there been a Jewish nation as such.

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Ancient Jewish Literature

I. Introduction

THE four centuries of Jewish history from the conquest of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) to the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70) were a period of considerable religious, political, and intellectual activity. It is not surprising, then, that they were also characterized by a notable body of literary productions, many of which are extant today. These works are religious in nature, for religion was woven into every phase of Jewish life. At the same time they reflect strongly the political and intellectual movements of their times. The literature from this period is made up of (1) books known as the Apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha, consisting of wisdom literature, patriotic stories, histories, and apocalyptic works; (2) the writings of the Qumrân community (probably Essenes), most of which have come from the recently discovered caves near the Dead Sea and are still in process of publication; (3) the allegorical treatises of Philo of Alexandria, the Hellenistic philosopher-theologian; and (4) the works of Josephus.

Following the destruction of the Temple, and even more so after the suppression of the revolt led by Bar Cocheba (A.D. 132–135) (see p. 79), Jewish life and thought underwent drastic changes. With both their Temple ritual and their existence as a political entity at an end, the Jews turned their intellectual energies inward in an attempt to preserve themselves from being swallowed up culturally and racially by the Gentile world. This they accomplished by emphasizing and elaborating the legal aspects of their

religious life—a tendency, indeed, which already had a long history, particularly among the Pharisees. While at first their legal regulations were preserved largely by oral tradition, from the early 3d century they took definite literary form, and by the 6th century had developed into what is known as the Talmud, the traditional compilation of Jewish law. Side by side with the Talmud there came into being an extensive traditional Jewish commentary on Scripture, known as Midrash. Much of this developed in connection with the exposition of the Old Testament in the synagogue. The Midrashic literature did not achieve its final form until about A.D. 1000.

In the following pages each of these types of Jewish literature will be discussed briefly.

II. The Apocrypha

The word “apocrypha” refers in Greek to things that are “hidden.” Scholars have suggested that when first applied to certain religious books, it was used to indicate that they were to be withheld from the general public because their message was of a mysterious nature, to be disclosed only to the initiated. As understood by Protestants today, the term Apocrypha describes those books of the Old Testament period that were included in the LXX but not accepted by the Jews of Palestine as Scripture, nor included in the Hebrew canon. While not generally accepted by Protestants, and thus not usually included in their Bible editions today, the Apocryphal books are considered by Roman and Greek Catholics as canonical, and may be found in Bibles used by them. Following are the books that constitute the Apocrypha.

First Esdras.—In the LXX this book precedes Ezra, which together with Nehemiah is known there as 2 Esdras. In the Latin Vulgate, on the other hand, Ezra and Nehemiah are entitled 1 and 2 Esdras, and this Apocryphal book is termed 3 Esdras. The Douay Version omits it. The largest part of this book is made up of material also found in 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; its chief unique feature is an anachronistic story of a young guard who wins the favor of the Persian king Darius and so facilitates the return of the Jews and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. It is not known when this book was written.

Tobit.—This is a fanciful story centering on the adventures of Tobit, a Jew supposed to have been taken captive to Assyria by Shalmaneser, and of his son, Tobias. It tells how Tobias, guided by the angel Raphael in human form, made a journey from Nineveh to Ecbatana in Media; how he took the liver and gall from a ferocious fish in the Tigris, and by burning it with incense drove off a murderous demon; and how later he cured Tobit’s blindness by blowing dust from the gall into his father’s eyes. This story is thought by scholars to have been written in the 2d century B.C.

Judith.—This patriotic story tells how an Assyrian king, Nebuchadnezzar (entirely unknown to history), sent his general, Holofernes, to invade Palestine. When he laid siege to the city of Bethulia, Judith, a wealthy, pious, and beautiful widow, undertook to deliver the city. Entering the camp of Holofernes, she ingratiated herself with him by leading him to think she was a refugee from the Jews and would tell him the secret of conquering them. But following a drunken banquet she entered his bedroom and cut off his head. This so encouraged the Jews that they rallied and drove the Assyrians away in confusion. Non-Catholic scholars generally place the writing of Judith in Palestine about the middle of the 2d century B.C., and see it as a patriotic, but fanciful, story intended to arouse nationalistic fervor during the Maccabean wars against Antiochus Epiphanes.

Additions to Esther.—These additions consist of six passages that have been inserted in various places into the canonical book of Esther. They include a dream of Mordecai, in which he has a foreboding of the threat coming to the Jews, prayers of both Mordecai and Esther when they learn of Haman's decree, and a melodramatic description of Esther's audience with Ahasuerus. These additions seem to have been made in an attempt to enhance the religious tone of the story of Esther.

Wisdom of Solomon.—This book is divided into two distinct sections. The first deals with wisdom, whereas the second is historical, contrasting the life and religion of the Egyptians with that of Israel. The book emphasizes the work of the Spirit of God throughout. It declares that man is composed of body, soul, and an immortal spirit, and that he possesses freedom of choice. Although nothing is said of the Messiah, the author of this work does set forth a day of judgment for the wicked and the righteous. Both Catholic and Protestant scholars generally hold that this book is a product of Hellenistic Judaism of the 2d or 1st century B.C. It was written probably at Alexandria.

Ecclesiasticus.—The Latin name Ecclesiasticus was given to this book in the early days of Christianity inasmuch as it was considered fit to be read in church (Gr. *ekklesia*; Latin, *ecclesia*), even though not in the Hebrew canon. In the LXX it usually appears under the title Wisdom of Sirach, whereas the Talmud refers to it simply by its author's name, *Ben Sira*'. This is a large book of 51 chapters, containing many proverbs and much instruction regarding wisdom. The author feels that there is no salvation apart from man's good works, and that sin is the result of man's free choice. He believes in sacrifices of all kinds, counting them along with the religious feasts as first among man's good works. To him, wisdom is a free gift of God, to be obtained through the keeping of His commandments. Ecclesiasticus, according to its own testimony, was written in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew, Jesus (or Joshua) the son of Sirach, and was translated into Greek by his grandson, probably about 132 B.C.

Baruch.—This book purports to have been written by Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah (see Jer. 36:4). The setting is Babylonia during the Captivity. The book opens with a letter sent by the captive Jews to their kinsmen remaining in Palestine after the destruction of Jerusalem. Most of the book consists of a confession of their sin, a plea for forgiveness, a recognition of God's wisdom, and a remembrance of His promises of restoration. The book is partly prose and partly poetry. It appears to contain a historical inaccuracy in that it enjoins the Jews to "pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar] king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar [Belshazzar] his son" (ch. 1:11), which would imply that Belshazzar was crown prince near the time when Jerusalem was destroyed in 586 B.C. Archeology has shown conclusively that only at a date several decades after 586 B.C. could Belshazzar have been so regarded (see Additional Note on Daniel 5). Non-Catholic scholars today generally hold that the book of Baruch was written after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, to encourage the desolated and exiled Jews of that time by reminding them of the resignation and faithfulness of their forefathers in the Babylonian captivity.

Epistle of Jeremy.—Although in the LXX this epistle forms a separate work, in the Vulgate and the Douay Version it is appended to Baruch as the final chapter of that book. It is a short address of only 73 verses that purports to have been written by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews who were to be taken captive to Babylonia, and is largely a warning

against idolatry. The book gives evidence of having been written originally in Greek, probably sometime between the 4th and 2d centuries B.C.

Additions to Daniel.—The LXX contains several additions to the canonical book of Daniel. These are the Song of the Three Holy Children, the History of Susanna, and the History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon.

The Song of the Three Holy Children is in two main parts; the first is a prayer supposed to have been uttered by Azarias (Azariah, that is, Abednego) while walking in the fiery furnace (see Dan. 3:19–25); the second is a song of praise gratuitously attributed by the anonymous writer to all three of the Hebrews in the furnace, and is strongly reminiscent of Ps. 148.

The History of Susanna tells how two Jewish judges saw a beautiful and virtuous woman, Susanna, bathing in her garden, and became enamored of her. When they accosted her, she repulsed them, and in revenge they summoned her before a tribunal and falsely accused her of adultery. Susanna was condemned to death, but on the way to her execution she was met by Daniel, who demanded that her trial be reopened. By examining the two judges separately, he proved her innocence by their contradictory statements. They were executed and Daniel was highly exalted.

The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon contains two stories. The first, like that of Susanna, extols Daniel's prowess in detecting deceit. It tells how he demonstrated that an idol of the Babylonian god Bel (Marduk) did not actually devour food, as it was thought to do. By scattering ashes on the floor in the evening, Daniel proved the next morning, by footprints in the ashes, that priests had entered the temple of the idol at night and had eaten the food placed there for it. As a result the king had the priests killed and the temple destroyed. The second story concerns Daniel's destruction of a dragon that was worshiped by the Babylonians. By feeding it a concoction of pitch, fat, and hair, he caused it to burst and die. In retaliation the people of Babylon threw Daniel into a lions' den, where the lions refused to harm him, and the prophet Habakkuk, being transported miraculously through the air from Judea by an angel, brought him food. So impressed was the king by these miracles that he freed Daniel and destroyed his persecutors. Catholic and Protestant scholars agree that these additions were not originally part of the canonical book of Daniel.

Prayer of Manasses.—This short work of only 15 verses purports to be a prayer of King Manasseh of Judah when he was imprisoned in Babylon (see 2 Chron. 33:9–13). It is not among the books accepted by the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent, and in official Catholic editions of the Vulgate it is placed in an appendix as Apocryphal. Luther's German Bible and the KJV both originally included it. This work appears to be a penitential psalm written perhaps in the 1st century B.C.

First Maccabees.—In contrast with the largely fabulous character of the books thus far described, 1 Maccabees is considered primary source material covering the history of the Jewish struggle for independence in the 2d century B.C. It traces the history of the period from the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C. to the beginning of the reign of the Hasmonaean priest-king John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C. (For the history covered by this book, see pp. 28–33.) The author of 1 Maccabees is unknown, but scholars are quite satisfied that he was a Palestinian Sadducee well acquainted with the incidents about which he wrote. The book was written in Hebrew probably about 100 B.C.

Second Maccabees.—This book is not a sequel to 1 Maccabees, but like it, begins with the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and narrates the struggles of the Jews for independence from the Syrians. It carries the story only to the victory of Judas Maccabees over the Syrian general Nicanor at Beth-horon in 162/1 B.C. Although it thus covers a much shorter period than 1 Maccabees, it gives in places more detail, which sometimes appears to be literary elaboration rather than sober history. 2 Maccabees introduces new doctrinal concepts not found in the first book when it records how Judas Maccabaeus made an offering for the sins of the dead and prayed that they might be delivered from sin, in the hope of the resurrection (ch. 12:43–45). From its introduction, this book appears to have been written in Palestine about 124 B.C. (ch. 1:10), and is an epitome of a larger work by one Jason of Cyrene (ch. 2:23).

III. The Pseudepigrapha

The word “pseudepigrapha” means literally writings “falsely entitled.” It is applied by scholars to a body of religious literature falsely ascribed to famous persons of the past, which appeared at the same time as the Apocrypha and was in many ways similar to it, but which is not accepted as canonical by either Jews or any segment of Christians. Roman Catholics class these works as apocryphal. A brief discussion of these books follows.

Third Maccabees.—This book of only seven chapters is included in some important manuscripts of the LXX. Because it is quite clearly folklore, it is here classed as pseudepigraphical. The story is an elaborated account of the victory of Ptolemy IV Philopator over Antiochus the Great at the Battle of Raphia (217 B.C.), and of the resultant excesses of the victorious king. The book was apparently written to show God’s miraculous deliverance of the Jewish nation in times of personal greed and international intrigue.

Fourth Maccabees.—Like 3 Maccabees, this book is also included in some LXX manuscripts, but is not accepted by Roman Catholics. It is a sermon to the Jews on the supremacy of inspired reason over passion. According to this work, passions are implanted by God, and are not to be driven out, but controlled. Righteousness, justice, courage, and temperance are best attained by those brought up by the Torah.

Jubilees.—This work was written in Hebrew apparently by a Pharisee or Essene perhaps during the latter half of the 2d century B.C., although dates both earlier and later than this have been suggested. It is an extended commentary on Genesis and Exodus written from a legalistic standpoint. Of particular interest is its teaching regarding the coming Messianic kingdom, which it envisioned as a gradual development until both man and nature would reach perfection, happiness, and peace. Men would live a thousand years, and when they died, their spirits would enter a state of eternal bliss. A fragment of this work was discovered among the Dead Sea scrolls in Qumrân Cave I.

First Enoch (Ethiopic Enoch).—This is a compilation of the works of several authors, who were Pharisees, and was written partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic. It is known today as “Ethiopic” because it has been preserved only in an Ethiopic version.

Of particular interest are its teachings regarding the coming kingdom and the future life. It appears to declare of the transcendental ruler of that kingdom that he was hidden with God since before the creation of the world (chs. 46:1, 2; 48:6; 62:7). Several titles apparently given him are applied in the New Testament to Jesus. Thus he is called “His [God’s] Anointed [or Messiah]” (ch. 52:4); “the Righteous [or Just] One” (ch. 38:2; cf.

Acts 3:14); “the Elect [or Chosen] One” (Enoch 40:5; 45:3, 4; cf. Luke 23:35); and “the Son of Man” (Enoch 46:3, 4; 62:5). The different parts of 1 Enoch, apparently by different authors, indicate the presence of varying views among the Jews of the 1st century B.C. in regard to the Messianic kingdom: chs. 1–36 teach that it will be eternal on the earth after the final judgment; chs. 37–71, that it will be eternal on earth and in heaven and will be introduced by the last judgment; and chs. 91–104 hold that the Messianic kingdom is to be temporary and on earth, and will be followed by the final judgment.

Prominence is also given to Azazel, who is identified as the one who “hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which men were striving to learn” (ch. 9:6; R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, p. 193). The final judgment of Azazel is declared in the words, “The Lord said to Raphael: ‘Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. . . . And on the day of the great judgment he shall be cast into the fire. . . . The whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin’” (ch. 10:4–8; Charles, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 193, 194). Although this identification of Azazel with Satan cannot be taken as proved on the authority of the Book of Enoch, its appearance here is evidence of the Jewish understanding of the figure of Azazel in the 1st century B.C.

1 Enoch indicates the ferment of eschatological thinking prominent in certain areas of Judaism just before and during the New Testament period. The prophecy of Enoch recorded in Jude 14 is closely paralleled in 1 Enoch 1:9. Authorities differ on dates assigned to the various sections of this book, but it is generally agreed that the entire book was in circulation at least by the middle of the 1st century B.C.

Second Enoch (Slavonic Enoch).—This work is extant only in a Slavonic version. It shows some points of similarity to 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch and may preserve elements of ancient Jewish Messianic thinking. It also has numerous similarities to early Christian literature, which may be due either to quotations in the Church Fathers from 2 Enoch, or to elements in Enoch taken from them, depending upon the date when this work was composed. One group of scholars assigns 2 Enoch to the 1st century A.D., whereas another dates it no earlier than the seventh.

Second Baruch.—This book is a compilation of several works. It declares that man is capable of fulfilling the law, and that the righteous are saved by their works. It teaches that the Messianic kingdom is soon to be established, and that then Israel will be a world empire with Jerusalem as its capital. This book was written probably during the 1st or 2d century A.D. It is extant in its entirety only in a Syriac version.

Third Baruch.—This book advocates a belief in seven heavens and in three classes of angels who intercede for three classes of men. Its author thinks that the forbidden tree was the vine, and that Adam’s disobedience was due to Satan, who was envious of Christ. This book seems to show Christian influence, and was written probably no earlier than the 2d century A.D.

Fourth Ezra.—Here the author advocates an eschatological view of God in advancing the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. God is one, and unique; He has no mediatorial agency; He alone is the final judge. Israel is an elect race, and the law is a special gift to them after its rejection by other worlds. Since the love of God to Israel

exceeds His love to any other people, they are His true representatives to humanity. This book contains also a fabulous story (ch. 14:19–48) of how, when the Law had been burned by Nebuchadnezzar at the destruction of Jerusalem, Ezra dictated by inspiration a new copy of it to his scribes. It is thought that Fourth Ezra was written about the end of the 1st century A.D.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.—This work proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles, who are to be saved through Israel. It sees the Messiah as descended from Levi, not Judah, and connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist. It looks for a resurrection when both the righteous and wicked will be raised and divided into different groups. The suggestion has been made that the Testaments were written by a Pharisee or Essene at the height of Hasmonaean prosperity, when John Hyrcanus had assumed the titles of prophet, priest, and king, and was recognized by the Pharisees as the Messiah. Whether this is so, it is generally recognized that in its present form this work contains Christian interpolations. Recently interest has been renewed in the Testaments since a fragment of one of its sections, the Testament of Levi, has been discovered among the Dead Sea scrolls in Qumrân Cave I. Similarities between the Testament of Levi and the Habakkuk Commentary and the Zadokite Fragments have also been pointed out.

Sibylline Oracles.—This is a work comprised originally of 15 books and several fragments, containing oracles developed by Jewish and probably also Christian authors from the 2d century B.C. to perhaps the 5th century A.D.

Assumption of Moses.—This work probably consisted originally of two distinct books, the Testament of Moses and the Assumption. The author, a Pharisee, attempted to draw his compatriots back to the old paths of implicit obedience to the Torah. Patriotically, he looked for the return of the ten tribes and felt that it was the duty of Israel to keep the law and to pray God to intervene in their behalf. This work seems to have been written during the 1st century A.D. Early Christian writers connected Jude 9 with this book, but Jude's words are not found in the Assumption in the sections that are extant today.

Letter of Aristeas.—This letter purports to have been written by Aristeas, an officer of the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.), to his brother, Philocrates, and recounts the composition of the LXX. On account of the many anachronisms in it, scholars have generally discounted its reliability. However, it is a valuable source of information concerning the views held in ancient times concerning the origin of the LXX.

Book of Adam and Eve.—The author of this work tells the story of Adam and Eve from the creation to their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, and looks forward to a destruction of the earth, first by water and then by fire. He probably was a Jew of the Dispersion, writing sometime during the first four centuries of the Christian Era.

Martyrdom of Isaiah.—This book declares that King Manasseh condemned the prophet Isaiah for his claim that he saw God (Isa. 6:1), when according to Ex. 33:20 no man could see God and live.

Pirke Abôth (Sayings of the Fathers).—This is a collection of ethical and religious maxims uttered by Jewish leaders over a period of several centuries near the beginning of the Christian Era. They believed that the justice of God is revealed in the same way that justice is shown by an earthly court—a reward of peace and happiness to the keeper of the law, and punishment to the breaker of its precepts. In fact, they used the word *torah*,

“law” or “instruction,” as a term for God. This work is included in the Mishnah (see p. 99).

Psalms of Solomon.—This is a collection of 18 psalms describing the righteousness of Israel as compared with the nations about them. Two classes of Jews are depicted, the righteous, to which the author belongs, and the unrighteous, who are profane and men pleasers. These psalms were written originally in Hebrew, probably about the middle of the 1st century B.C.

Story of Aḥikar.—This is a novel placed in the time of the Assyrian king Sennacherib. Aḥikar, Sennacherib’s vizier, is falsely accused by his nephew Nadan and condemned to death. Because Aḥikar had once delivered the executioner from death, he kills a criminal in Aḥikar’s place, and Aḥikar flees to Egypt. When Sennacherib learns that he is alive, he sends for him, and on his return Aḥikar claims revenge on Nadan, who is starved to death in prison.

IV. The Literature of the Qumrân Community

For information on the history and archeology of the community at *Khirbet Qumrân* see Vol. I, pp. 31-34; Vol. IV, pp. 86-88; and Vol. V, pp. 53, 54.

Damascus Document.—In the Genizah (manuscript storeroom) of a Cairo synagogue there were discovered, near the close of the 19th century, many valuable Jewish manuscripts of the early Middle Ages. Among these were two partly identical texts of a Jewish sect whose members have been called, for lack of a more accurate name, Zadokites, or Damascus Covenanters. When published in 1910 by Solomon Schechter, their discoverer, these manuscripts stirred up much controversy among scholars, since they were unique in Jewish literature. Scholars concluded that the authors of this work belonged to a sect that separated itself from the main body of the Jews, considering them apostates from the Law. The members of the sect bound themselves by a “New Covenant” and followed their own way of life and rituals. Later they left Palestine and migrated to Damascus. A few scholars thought that the sect had been founded in the 7th century A.D., but the majority of investigators who expressed themselves on the subject placed its origin between the 2d century B.C. and A.D. 70. The close relationship of these manuscripts to the pseudepigraphic Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, and the Book of Enoch pointed to the Maccabean, or the early Roman period, as their time of origin.

The Damascus Document contains admonitions and regulations. The Sabbath was to be kept according to the same rules the Pharisees of the New Testament period observed. Defilement through ritually unclean baths or forbidden food, through dealings with Gentiles, and through fornication was to be shunned, while monogamy and confession of sins were encouraged. Strong belief in the doctrine of election, in good and evil angels, in an expected Messiah, and in an eternal life is also evident.

With the discovery and study of formerly unknown works possessed by the Qumrân community in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, it has become evident that the Damascus Document emanated from the same group and should be classed with the Qumrân literature. In fact, it has been reported that some evidence of this document has come to light among the Dead Sea scrolls. The Damascus Document is sometimes referred to as the Zadokite Fragments.

Qumrân Literature.—Of the numerous fragments of non-Biblical works found among the Dead Sea scrolls, only a few are sufficiently well preserved to provide continuous text material. Of these documents four had been published by 1956. They give a picture of the customs and rules of the Qumrân sect, but tell very little about its history, since references to historical characters are few, mostly in ambiguous terms like “Teacher of Righteousness” or “Wicked Priest,” and political powers appear under such veiled names as “the Kittim of Assur” or “the Kittim in Egypt.”

The following non-Biblical works from the Qumrân community were also among those published early:

1. A commentary to chapters 1 and 2 of Habakkuk, in which the prophet’s oracles are interpreted as finding their fulfillment in the turbulent period in which the commentator lived. (Previously cited as DSH, now 1Qp Hab.)

2. A scroll known as *The War of the Sons of Light With the Sons of Darkness*, describing a historical or imaginary conflict and providing mainly rules of warfare. (Previously cited as DSW, now 1QM.)

3. A scroll containing *Thanksgiving Psalms* that are similar to some Biblical psalms, but lack the depth and spiritual force found in the Psalms. (Previously cited as DST, now 1QH.)

4. *The Manual of Discipline* was easily the most important of the non-Biblical books from the Qumrân caves published at that time. It contains the rules and regulations under which the members of the sect lived, and proves that the covenanters of the Zadokite Fragments belonged to this same sect. (Previously cited as DSD, now 1 QS). It pictures the members of the sect as forming a religious society with a democratic government, whose overseers were chosen by vote. No private property was allowed. All money was kept and spent in the interest of the sect by the overseer. The sect’s rules were strict, and a penal code existed for such transgressions as making false or foolish statements, vilifying or injuring a neighbor, interrupting another’s speech, or sleeping during a meeting of the community.

This document describes also the rituals to be followed in the ceremony of initiation. Strong curses were pronounced at that occasion for deviations, but also an expanded Aaronic blessing (cf. Num. 6:24–26) was given, as follows:

“May he bless you with all good and keep you from all evil; may he enlighten your heart with life-giving prudence and be gracious to you with eternal knowledge; may he lift up his loving countenance to you for eternal peace” (1 QS ii. 2–4; in Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 372).

The members of the sect were also required to exercise purification rites by immersion in water, to take their meals in common, to study the Law constantly, and to live a life of sanctity and piety. Significantly, all the books of the Hebrew Bible (except, possibly, Esther) have been found in their library, some in several copies. Obviously, the members of the sect were engaged in Bible study. This fact is also revealed by the existence of several commentaries on Biblical books among their literary productions.

The regulations found in *The Manual of Discipline* are similar in many ways to the rules of the Essenes as reported by Philo (*That Every Good Man Is Free*, 75 ff.) and Josephus (*Antiquities* xviii. 1. 5; *War* ii. 8. 2 ff. [119–161]). Because of these similarities scholars generally hold either that the Qumrân community was an Essene establishment or that there was at least a relationship between it and the Essenes.

Since John the Baptist grew up in the same area, lived an ascetic life, and practiced baptism, scholars have suggested that he was influenced by the Essenes. Certain relationships between the Qumrân literature and the Gospel of John have also been suggested. Particularly striking is the contrast between the spirit of truth and error, light and darkness, found in both *The Manual of Discipline* and the Fourth Gospel (see 1 QS iii. 13–iv. 26; John 8:12; 11:10; 12:35; 14:17; 15:26; 16:13). Other parallels have been seen between the Qumrân writings and those of Paul. Especially interesting among these are the terms “mystery” and “knowledge,” important words in Paul’s vocabulary which previously had been thought to have largely a Gentile background (see 1 QS iii. 2. 6; xi. 3. 6; Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 2:7; Eph. 3:3). Now this much is clear, that these terms had also a religious use among the Jews in general, which may throw some light on Paul’s use of them. However, in view of the mass of material from Qumrân that remains to be published and studied, it is still too early to reach detailed conclusions regarding the relationships between the non-Biblical Dead Sea scrolls and the New Testament. On the other hand, it is certain that these scrolls will shed an increasingly important light on the religious thinking of the Jews in Jesus’ day and on the issues at stake during that time, with the result that they will be of much help to the interpreter of the New Testament.

V. The Septuagint (LXX), Philo, and Josephus

In addition to certain of the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha that were written originally in Greek and are representative of Hellenistic Judaism, there are several other important Jewish works in the Greek language. Particularly important among these are the Septuagint, known by the symbol LXX, and the works of Philo and Josephus.

The Septuagint.—For a discussion of the origin and history of this earliest translation of the Old Testament see Vol. I, p. 39. Several characteristics distinguish the LXX as compared with the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Old Testament. One of these is the appearance of doublets, that is, of synonyms placed together to translate a single Hebrew word. Another is that the LXX repeatedly avoids anthropomorphic representations of God, a trend, indeed, that was characteristic of the more philosophically-minded Jews of Alexandria. Yet another difference between the LXX and the Masoretic text is the arrangement of certain sections; thus different sequences of material appear in Ex. 35–39, [LXX 3d] 1 Kings 4–11, the last part of Jeremiah, and the end of Proverbs. This trend in the LXX also extends to the arrangement of books, which differs from the traditional Hebrew order of Law, Prophets, and Psalms (see Vol. 1, p. 37). While the LXX manuscripts vary somewhat in details of order, in general they follow the pattern preserved in English Bibles today. Of the Apocryphal books, 1 Esdras precedes Ezra; Wisdom, Sirach, Judith, and Tobit precede Isaiah; Baruch follows Jeremiah; and the books of Maccabees follow Malachi. Job comes between the Song of Solomon and Wisdom; Esther, with its Apocryphal additions, between Sirach and Judith; and Daniel is accompanied by Susanna and Bel and the Dragon. See pp. 84–87.

Perhaps the most interesting difference of all between the LXX and the traditional Hebrew text is the fact that some materials appear in the Greek that are not in the Hebrew, whereas other passages are preserved in the Hebrew that do not appear in the Greek. The extent of these variations differs; in the Pentateuch the two texts are closely similar, but in the book of Daniel the LXX is quite different from the Masoretic Hebrew text. Because of this great discrepancy, the early church rejected the LXX of Daniel and substituted for it the translation made by Theodotion in the latter part of the 2d century

A.D. In fact, so little was the LXX of Daniel used that it survives today in Greek in only two manuscripts, a copy among the Chester Beatty Papyri from the 2d or 3d century, and the Chigi manuscript from about the 10th century. The presence in the LXX of material not in the traditional Hebrew text extends not only to individual passages but also to books; thus the LXX contains those books now commonly known as the Apocrypha (see pp. 84-87). However, the inclusion of these additional books apparently does not rest upon a Hebrew canon different from that of the Masoretic; it seems rather to be due to the acceptance of books by Hellenistic Jews that were rejected by their more conservative brethren in Palestine.

The discoveries of the manuscripts at *Khirbet Qumrân* (see p. 90) aroused new interest in the study of the LXX, for several Hebrew fragments of the Old Testament have been found there that exhibit a text much nearer to the LXX than to the traditional Hebrew text preserved in other Dead Sea scrolls, and by the Masoretes. While the full significance of these discoveries of LXX-type Hebrew texts is yet to be determined, they do appear to indicate that at least some of the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew texts heretofore known are not merely the result of bad translation or careless handling, but rest rather upon different Hebrew originals. Apparently at least as late as the 1st century B.C. more than one type of Hebrew text was in circulation. This leads to the further assumption that one of these represented that preserved by the LXX, and another, that found in the majority of the Dead Sea scrolls and the Masoretic text. However, final conclusions on the relationships of these texts must await further research.

Philo.—Philo Judaeus stands as one of the best examples of those Jewish scholars and philosophers who worked under the influence of Hellenism. He had a notable breadth of mind.

Born in Alexandria, probably between the years 20–10 B.C., Philo grew up in the atmosphere of cosmopolitan culture and the finest Jewish patterns of thought and study. He was possibly of the priestly order, and, it would appear, a Pharisee. He died about A.D. 50.

To Philo, Moses was the greatest of the ancients, as thinker, lawgiver, and exponent of divine truth. He was, Philo believed, the reliable exponent of truths that philosophy had sought eagerly but ineffectually to develop. To Philo, the desirable fruitage of philosophic study was to understand the teaching of Moses as the revelation of God and the basis of truth. It was Philo's purpose to bring out this truth, which he believed was in part clearly set forth and in part only embryonic in the book of Moses. To accomplish this, Philo applied in his exegesis of Mosaic teachings the allegorical method, which already had become a well-developed art in Alexandrian literary circles. This allegorizing Philo carried to an extreme.

The influence of non-Jewish philosophic thinking, particularly that of Plato, strongly controlled Philo. To him, references to God as a Being with feet, hands, or face were merely anthropomorphisms, that is, attributions to God of human characteristics merely as figures of speech. These Philo sought to eliminate, since he believed they were not literally true. God was the "simply Existent One," not to be thought of materially, but spiritually, or rather metaphysically. To Philo, true reason was Logos. This he did not personify, but he apparently recognized it as the Spirit of God, the divine messenger of God. Philo never united the ideas of Logos and Messiah into one divine Person, as John did so boldly (John 1:1–3, 14).

Philo's moral teaching which was influenced by the Torah on the one hand and Stoicism on the other, presents a fine distillation of the best, humanly speaking, in the accumulated interpretation of Jewish law. He believed that man's supreme end in life is to ascertain the will of God and to do it. He held that the family, the community, and the best development of self are opportunities for the exercise of good by every man of right spirit. Philo's influence was so extensive, in fact, that the teachings of the Christian Platonists Clement and Origen of Alexandria show its impact nearly two centuries later.

Josephus.—The best-known and most widely quoted Jewish writer of this period was Flavius Josephus, a priest, a scholar, an army officer rather by accident, and a historian of great importance. He was born into a noble and priestly family in Jerusalem about A.D. 37, and claimed Hasmonaean descent (see pp. 30, 75). After experimenting with the three major sects of Judaism in his day, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, he became a Pharisee at the age of 22 or 23.

Four years later Josephus went to Rome, where he interceded successfully for some Jews who had fallen into disfavor with Felix, the procurator in Palestine. Here he was so forcefully impressed with the power of Rome, that when the great revolt of A.D. 66–73 was about to break out, he, like Herod Agrippa II, sought earnestly to show the Jews the futility of rebelling against the empire. In fact, he was actually a conservative who opposed revolt as a matter of principle.

The Jews, however, rejected Josephus' advice, and so at about the age of 30 he found himself involved in the revolt that climaxed in the destruction of Jerusalem. When the Jews appointed him governor of Galilee, he led his troops from that province against the Romans, was defeated and captured, and held for two years as a prisoner. When taken before the Roman general Vespasian, Josephus prophesied that this general would become emperor, and when, in A.D. 69, Vespasian was in fact elected emperor by his troops, Josephus was paroled. In tribute to the emperor's patronage, Josephus assumed the name Flavius, which was Vespasian's family name. Before the destruction of Jerusalem the Romans sent him as a willing but unsuccessful emissary to the Jewish revolutionaries to seek to persuade them to surrender.

Josephus lived most of the rest of his life in Rome, where he received a pension and Roman citizenship, as well as the gift of an estate in Judea. He devoted the last half of his life to literary pursuits, during which time he produced four principal works.

The Jewish War, the earliest of Josephus' historical endeavors, was written first in Aramaic, and then translated into Greek by skilled linguists under his supervision. Only the Greek translation is extant. Written about A.D. 79, and consisting of seven books, the work traces the history of the Jews from the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes to the close of the great Roman war in A.D. 73. The earlier part of this history was based largely on the work of Nicolas of Damascus; the latter section consists more or less of Josephus' own observations, to which he doubtless added from records available to him in Rome. Josephus probably hoped to persuade the Jews of Mesopotamia not to attempt a revolt as their brethren in Palestine had tragically done.

Jewish Antiquities, Josephus' second great work, completed during the years A.D. 93–94, was a brief history of the people of God, from creation to the opening of the Roman war in A.D. 66. The earlier part of this work follows rather closely the Biblical account according to the Septuagint version, although at times Josephus presents as fact certain elements of Pharisaic tradition. For the portion of his work dealing with the period

following the Old Testament, Josephus appears to use as sources 1 Maccabees and the writings of Polybius, Strabo, and Nicolas of Damascus. His results testify to the truth of his confession that toward the close of his work he found himself weary of his task. *The Antiquities* makes a number of references to Jewish characters who appear also in the New Testament, such as John the Baptist (*Antiquities* xviii. 5. 2), James the Lord's brother (*ibid.* xx. 9. 1), and Judas of Galilee (*ibid.* xviii. 1. 6). There is also a paragraph (*ibid.* xviii. 3. 3) in which Jesus of Nazareth is described in highly favorable terms, with a notation of His crucifixion and resurrection. This passage declares concerning Jesus that "He was [the] Christ." It is the general consensus of scholarship that this, though probably essentially Josephus' statement, contains Christian interpolations introducing beliefs concerning Jesus that Josephus did not hold.

Against Apion is a defense of the teachings of the Jews. Apion was an enemy of the Jews who became for Josephus the typical Gentile, in reference to whom he set forth his apology for Judaism. Inasmuch as Josephus was a Pharisee, it is that type of Judaism that he here defends. This work is important also for the fragments it preserves from the lost writings of the Babylonian historian Berosus and the Egyptian historian Manetho.

The Life is Josephus' autobiography. It was written primarily in reply to one Justus, who had accused Josephus of being the moving spirit of the Jewish revolt. In this work the author portrays himself throughout as a partisan of the Romans, a view that is hardly borne out by his account in *The Jewish War*.

Josephus' works have been much reviewed by critics, and with rather adverse results, for he was not free from bias. He favored the Romans in contrast with the rebellious Jews, and he favored the Jews in contrast with the Gentiles. Such an attitude is understandable on the part of a writer living at a time of bitter partisanship, who attempted an apology for a people whose conduct had brought them to defeat and subjugation, but whose spirit was still unbroken.

When Josephus is tested on certain points by archeology and by less partisan writers who deal with the same questions, it appears that he was sometimes careless in his handling of historical materials. Yet the fact remains that without Josephus' work there would be serious gaps in present-day knowledge not only of Jewish history but of Roman as well. Josephus died about A.D. 100.

VI. The Targums

In much the same way that the Jews of the Roman world outside Palestine came to feel the need of a Greek translation of the Old Testament, so also many Jews within Palestine in the centuries after the return from the Exile found themselves unable to understand the Bible in Hebrew and thus in need of a translation into Aramaic. In accordance with their more conservative tendencies, they refrained for centuries from writing down such a version, but relied rather upon oral translations of the Biblical passages read during the services on the Sabbath in the synagogue (see p. 57). After a Scripture passage was read in Hebrew, a *meturgeman*, or "interpreter," translated it into Aramaic.

These oral translations first began to be put into writing, probably before the time of Jesus, and certainly by the 1st century A.D. They are known as Targums, "interpretations." Since they are witnesses to the character of the Hebrew text they translate, the Targums are of some value in textual studies of the Old Testament. They are also important in that they often reveal which Old Testament passages the Jews

considered to be Messianic prophecies, for the Targums consist not only of translations but also of paraphrases and comments. Thus they reveal how the Jews fifteen or more centuries ago interpreted certain texts that cannot be understood easily from the existing Hebrew text.

The earliest Targums produced probably were those dealing with the Torah, the five books of the Pentateuch. The best-known Targum on the Pentateuch is the Targum Onkelos, or Babylonian Targum. Onkelos, who traditionally is considered the author of this Targum, is frequently identified with Aquila, Rabbi Akiba's famous student who produced a very literal translation of the Old Testament into Greek. The Targum Onkelos is likewise extremely literal, although it does contain some paraphrased sections. While its real authorship is in doubt, it appears to have been written originally in Palestine and later edited in Babylonia. Another well-known Pentateuch Targum is that of pseudo-Jonathan, so called because it was erroneously attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, Hillel's most distinguished pupil. It bears also the name Yerushalmi I, since it was produced in Palestine, probably after the 7th century. It is a highly paraphrastic translation, which includes various legal and philosophical ideas. Another paraphrastic Pentateuch Targum of Palestinian origin is Yerushalmi II, also called the Fragmentary Targum, because only portions of it are extant.

The best-preserved Targum of the Prophets also bears the name of Jonathan, but scholars have found evidence that it was produced in Babylonia by Rabbi Joseph in the 4th century A.D. Targums of the Writings, the third section of the Hebrew Bible (see Vol. I, p. 37), did not appear until much later; in fact, Targums of the books Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah seem never to have been written.

VII. The Talmud

The body of Jewish civil and canonical law is contained in an extensive literature known as the Talmud, a word that means "teaching." Originating in oral tradition that developed over several centuries, the Talmud began to take written form about the beginning of the 3d century A.D. with the codification of its basic portion, the Mishnah; during the ensuing two centuries a large body of commentary on the Mishnah was elaborated and codified, which is known as Gemara. These two collections make up the Talmud as a whole, and provide the structure of historic Judaism. See p. 99.

Oral Tradition.—The rabbis of the apostolic age claimed that Jewish oral tradition was of the same divine origin as the written revelation contained in the Torah. This tradition was handed down from generation to generation until about the beginning of the 3d century A.D. when it was crystallized in written form in the Mishnah, which became the rule of conduct for orthodox Jews.

When the New Testament was written, Jewish tradition, still flourishing in oral form, concerned itself chiefly with an exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures. This was called Midrash. This exegesis was not a linguistic or historical approach in the modern sense, but rather a search for new knowledge, and the existing Bible text was used only to give direction and inspiration. Such exegesis worked by means of logical deduction, combination of related passages, and allegorical interpretation. The Midrash dealing with historical or dogmatic subjects is called Haggada ("expression"), or Haggadic Midrash, and that dealing with legal matters is called Halakah (literally, "walk," that is, "a norm," or "a rule"), or Halakic Midrash.

The term Haggada refers to non-Biblical material and to the exegesis of poetical, historical, and other nonlegal subject matter found in the Hebrew Bible. In the synagogue it was the common method of explaining the Bible, and employed symbol, allegory, fable, and parable. Haggada was not bound to strict rules of exegesis and might use almost any means by which a lasting impression could be made on the hearer. The voluminous legendary Jewish literature of the later Christian Era is largely the result of haggadic exegesis of the Bible, but only a minor section of the Talmud owes its origin to the Haggada.

The term Halakah designates the religious regulations based mainly on the legal sections of the Bible. While the Haggada was the mode of exegesis used mainly in the synagogue service, the Halakah was studied in the higher schools of religious learning. If possible, a scriptural basis was given for halakic regulations, but many rules for which no Biblical basis could be found were defended on the claim that they had been handed down by Moses from Sinai only in oral form. The Halakah was systematically collected into codes, and it was the highest ambition of every Jewish scholar of the law (the “scribe” in the New Testament) to learn and understand all the halakic rules pertaining to the religious and secular life of a conscientious Jew.

The greatest teachers of Halakah were Hillel the Elder (died c. A.D. 20) and Shammai. Both men developed their teachings in the last decades of the 1st century B.C., and their followers formed separate schools. Hillel was famous for his gentleness of character, which manifested itself in regulations more liberal than those pronounced by Shammai. Agreeing with Shammai that the letter of the Torah must be fulfilled literally, he interpreted it so that only the minimum requirements of the Law had to be met. Shammai, on the other hand, was strict, and demanded from his followers the maximum requirements of the Law.

To outsiders the differences between the schools of Hillel and Shammai often must have seemed artificial. The nature of halakic views and the differences between Hillel and Shammai are illustrated by the following example. Shammai decreed that it was not permissible to sell anything to a Gentile or to help him load his beast if he would have to travel with it on Sabbath. Hillel, however, saw no harm in allowing this (Mishnah *Shabbath* 1. 7, Soncino ed. of the Talmud, p. 73). A seemingly extreme example of Shammai’s punctiliousness was his insistence that in getting birds for slaughter on a festival day, a ladder might not be moved from one dovecot to another, but only from one opening to another in the same dovecot. Hillel, on the other hand, permitted both (Mishnah *Bezah* 1. 3, Soncino ed. of the Talmud, p. 39).

However, there are a few cases in which Hillel’s rulings seem more strict than those of Shammai. For example, Shammai permitted an egg to be eaten that had been laid on a Sabbath, but Hillel prohibited it on the ground that the restriction against preparing food on Sabbaths applied not only to men but also to chickens (Mishnah *‘Eduyyoth* 4. 1, Soncino ed. of the Talmud, p. 22).

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus an academy for Jewish learning was founded at Jamnia, south of Joppa (see p. 78). Here also the Sanhedrin was reorganized. The first leader of this center of Jewish learning was Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai. He it was who succeeded in saving Jewish tradition for posterity by making it, next to the Hebrew Scripture, the center of all Jewish orthodox thinking and life. Of his successors the most famous was Rabbi Akiba (c. A.D. 50—c. 132), one of the foremost Jewish

thinkers of all times. Some said that Akiba gained a deeper and more penetrating understanding of the Law than did Moses himself.

Akiba's early life is shrouded in obscurity. It is certain, however, that he was of humble origin and did not begin his studies until he was a middle-aged man. Having learned to read and write only late in life, he retained a mystical awe toward writing. This reverence manifested itself in an exegesis which found meaning, not only in sentences and words, but also in letters and parts of letters. He considered it his chief task to find a real or supposed scriptural basis for every halakah through logical deduction. Thus he succeeded in bringing systematic order into the great mass of halakic material. In this way he created the first all-embracing Mishnah collection. Although this material was not yet put into writing, it is possible that some small halakic collections were written down under his direction. Rabbi Akiba is also important for his leading part in the Council of Jamnia (c. A.D. 90), where weighty decisions concerning the canon and text of the Hebrew Bible were made (see Vol. I, p. 43), and for his support of the insurrectionist Bar Cocheba as the promised Messiah during the war that began in A.D. 132 (see Vol. V, p. 79). Even before the outbreak of the war, Akiba apparently was imprisoned by the Romans, and at the end of the war he died a martyr.

Akiba's most illustrious student was Rabbi Meïr, who continued and completed his master's legal system. His importance may be inferred from the fact that in the Mishnah he is quoted more than any of his predecessors.

Mishnah.—The Mishnah (literally, “repetition”) is the codified traditional law of the Jews. It contains rules and regulations formulated over many centuries by the Sanhedrin, by Hillel, by Shammai, and by other famous rabbis (known as *Tanna'im*). It contains conclusions drawn from such pronouncements regarding new cases in which old rules needed reinterpretation or modification. Thus religious ritual regulations and prohibitions make up most of the Mishnah.

The editor of the Mishnah was Judah, son of Simon (c. A.D. 135—c. A.D. 220), who is more commonly known as Judah ha-Nasi (“Judah the Prince”), or simply as Rabbi. He directed the production of the first comprehensive edition of Jewish traditional law in written form.

Judah ha-Nasi was an extremely penetrating scholar. He studied Greek, Latin, and astronomy under secular teachers, and the teachings of Jewish law under several distinguished scholars of his time. Soon he left all his instructors behind him, and became such a recognized authority in halakah that his pronouncements were placed above those of the Sanhedrin, and its rulings were considered binding only if Rabbi Judah endorsed them. He was called *ha-Nasi*, the title given to the president of the Sanhedrin, and because of his strict habits of life he was called *haq-qadosh*, “the holy one.” Following in the footsteps of Akiba and Meïr, Judah brought order into the mass of halakic rules, and grouped them into such subjects as feast days, offerings, purification, etc. This work was completed about A.D. 200 and has become the official Mishnah of Jewry.

Next to the Bible the Mishnah became the main source of Jewish religious studies, and its authority has frequently superseded the Scriptures. It also became the spiritual bond that united Jews scattered among many nations. In fact, after the Mishnah became the norm of life, the Sanhedrin and living leaders were almost superfluous.

As arranged by Judah ha-Nasi, the Mishnah is divided into six *sedarim*, or “orders,” containing 63 tractates, each with a name indicating its contents. The six orders are:

1. *Zera'im* (“seeds”), containing 11 tractates, deals mainly with agriculture and its products.
2. *Mo'ed* (“set feasts”), containing 12 tractates, presents regulations about the Sabbath and the feasts.
3. *Nashim* (“women”), containing 7 tractates, deals mainly with rules of marriage and married life.
4. *Neziḳin* (“damages”), containing 10 tractates, is concerned with civil and criminal laws.
5. *Ḳodashim* (“hallowed things”), containing 11 tractates, deals with offerings.
6. *Tohoroth* (“cleannesses”), containing 12 tractates, is concerned with regulations about clean and unclean things.

The Mishnah hardly ever deals with purely theological subjects, and contains little haggadic material. The most noteworthy exception is the tractate *'Aboth*, or *Pirque 'Aboth* (the ninth tractate of *Seder Neziḳin*), which is a collection of edifying sentences of the most famous Jewish scholars from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. No other part of the Mishnah has been printed and translated so frequently.

Gemara.—The codification of the Mishnah closed an era in the history of the Jews, for it marked the completion of the work of the *Tanna'im*, the “traditionalists,” who had transmitted the Halakah orally from generation to generation. During the following period, the scholars of Jewish law are called *'Amoraim*, “pronouncers,” or “exegetes.” They considered it their task to study the Mishnah, to interpret it, and to resolve its real or apparent contradictions.

The *'Amoraim* worked intensively during the 3d and 4th centuries of the Christian Era, and their new material, consisting of an elaborate exegesis of the Mishnah, was codified during the 4th and 5th centuries. This exegetical material at that time was called Talmud, “teaching.” In later times, however, it became known as Gemara, “completion,” and the word Talmud now is often applied to the combined Mishnah and Gemara. Included in the Gemara are Baraithas, which are halakic pronouncements that did not find a place in the Mishnah.

While the Mishnah was one unified work written in Hebrew and accepted by all Jews, the Gemara of Palestinian scholars, known as the Jerusalem Talmud, varied markedly from that of their Babylonian colleagues, which is called the Babylonian Talmud. The Jerusalem Talmud contains Gemara to 38 tractates of the first four orders of the Mishnah and to one tractate of the sixth order. Whereas the Mishnah was written in Hebrew, the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud was composed mainly in a western Aramaic dialect. The Babylonian Talmud contains Gemara to 34 tractates of the second to the fifth orders of the Mishnah, and to one tractate each of the first and sixth orders. The Mishnah in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds is in Hebrew, but the Gemara of the former is in western Aramaic, while that of the latter is in an eastern Aramaic dialect. The Jerusalem

Talmud gained but little recognition outside of Palestine, but the Babylonian Talmud, since its final edition c. A.D. 500, has become the accepted norm of orthodox Jewry.

Tosephta.—The Tosephta, meaning “extension,” “addition,” is a collection and interpretation of halakic sentences parallel to but often differing from those found in the Mishnah. Thus it is not actually a part of the Talmud. Like the Mishnah, the Tosephta is divided into six orders, but contains a total of only 59 tractates as compared with the 63 of the Mishnah. Its original collectors are not definitely known, but they must have done their work before the completion of the Talmud.

VIII. Later Commentators

The work of Jewish scholars with regard to Biblical and non-Biblical writings did not cease with the completion of the Talmud. Numerous commentaries on the Talmud were produced during the succeeding centuries, as well as commentaries on the Hebrew Bible. Up to the 10th century all Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament was done with the aid either of the Haggada or of allegory, which also was much in favor among the Christian Fathers. However, the later influence of Arabic scholarship brought a change, which led Jewish scholars into studies by which a sounder grammatical and lexical approach, and a more rational understanding of the Hebrew Bible, was achieved. The earliest commentators to deserve this designation were Saadia ben Joseph (d. 942), Samuel ben Hophni (d. 1013), and Moses ibn Gikatilla, who lived also in the 11th century. However, the greatest lights among Jewish commentators labored in the 12th and 13th centuries, such as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, David Kimchi, and Maimonides, whose works have influenced not only Jewish religious thinking to the present day but also to a lesser degree that of Christian commentators.

Rashi (1040–1105), a French rabbi, wrote commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud. His Bible commentary has been printed in most rabbinical Bibles, and his commentary on the Pentateuch is still widely used by Jews. Ibn Ezra (1092–1167) was a Spanish Jew who traveled extensively in the Mediterranean area, and thus gathered such encyclopedic knowledge that his commentaries on Biblical books were valuable sources of information.

David Kimchi (1160?–1235?) belonged to a family of Jewish scholars in France. His greatest exegetical work is a commentary on the prophetic books of the Old Testament. However, he was more influential as a grammarian and lexicographer; his famous Hebrew grammar, containing a list of Hebrew root words, formed for centuries the basis of Hebrew grammatical writing of both Jews and Christians.

Maimonides (1135–1204) was the most remarkable of all Jewish scholars and philosophers of the Middle Ages. Born in Spain, he came to fame as the head of Jewry in Egypt. His Arabic commentary on the Mishnah gave real meaning to many obscure sentences of the ancient rabbis, and extracted from them ethical and dogmatic values. His works influenced Christian scholastics and Moslem philosophers alike. Thomas Aquinas, Meister Eckhart, and even the philosopher Leibnitz drew basic philosophical ideas from Maimonides.

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The Language, Manuscripts, and Canon of the New Testament

I. The Language of the New Testament

Greek, Universal Language of New Testament Times.—The 27 books of the New Testament are generally believed to have been composed in Greek. In the time of Christ and the apostles Greek was the universal language of the Roman Empire. It had spread throughout the world toward the end of the 4th century B.C. with the expansion of Alexander's empire. His successors were all Greek rulers, who supported the spread of Greek speech and culture. Thus Greek became so widely known and deeply rooted that the Romans, who built an empire in the 1st century B.C. from the Atlantic to Persia, could not suppress it. Latin gained predominance in North Africa, Spain, and Italy, but played no role in the Eastern world. Even in Italy, where Latin was the mother tongue, educated people, especially, used Greek as a second language. For example, the Epistle of Clement, the earliest Christian document outside of the New Testament, though written in Rome, was composed in Greek. Among the hundreds of papyri discovered in the ruined home of a scholar at Herculaneum, a city destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, there were less than a dozen manuscripts in Latin—all others were in Greek.

However, other languages besides Greek were used in different parts of the empire. Thus, for example, the Jews of Palestine spoke Aramaic, the people of Lystra, Lycaonian (Acts 14:11), and the population of the city of Rome, Latin. This multilingual situation is reflected in the trilingual inscription above the cross on Calvary, composed in (1) Aramaic (called Hebrew in the New Testament), the language of the country, (2) Greek, the universally understood language of the empire, and (3) Latin, the official language of the Roman administration (John 19:20). Similar conditions existed in modern Palestine during the period of British mandate before the emergence of Israel as a state, when, for example, postage stamps contained imprints in three languages and scripts: Hebrew, Arabic, and English. This practice has been continued on postage stamps of the state of Israel.

The Common Greek Language.—In phonetics, grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, the Greek of the New Testament differs markedly from the language of classical works. In the 17th and 18th centuries a scholarly battle was carried on between the proponents of differing explanations of this problem. The Hebraists attributed the differences to the influence of Hebrew, on the assumption that all the writers of the New Testament were Jews who wrote in Greek but thought in Hebrew. Hence all New Testament words, forms, and syntactical constructions that differed from classical Greek were explained as Hebraisms. The purists, on the other hand, maintained that under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit the authors of the New Testament used the purest Greek possible. So long as only the works of classical Greek authors were known and studied there was no definitive solution to the problem.

Toward the end of the 19th century a new era began with the discovery and publication of large quantities of nonliterary documents, written chiefly on papyrus but also to some extent on broken pieces of pottery. These documents consisted of personal letters and notes, public announcements, bills and receipts, contracts and licenses, et cetera. The Greek language used in them is startlingly like that found in the Greek New Testament.

The credit for making this decisive discovery belongs largely to Adolf Deissmann, who in the 40 years following 1885 showed in numerous articles and books that the idiom of the papyri and potsherds is that of the New Testament. This means that the apostles wrote in the language of the people and not that of the historians, dramatists, and scientists. The kind of Greek used was called *hē koinē dialektos*, or, briefly, Koine, the “common one,” so called because it was common to Greek-speaking peoples all over the Mediterranean area, as distinguished from the various dialects such as Attic, Doric, Ionian, and Aeolic. Elements from all these dialects are incorporated in it, but it owes more to Attic than to the others.

A study of the New Testament reveals that in developing into Koine, Attic gave up some of its most characteristic marks. Thus Attic *tt* became *ss* (*thalatta*, “sea,” became *thalassa*), and *rr* became *rs* (*arrēn*, “male,” became *arsēn*). The classical dual form died out, and the optative (a verb form expressing desire), as well as the so-called Attic future, seldom appeared in Koine.

Koine borrowed some words and expressions from Ionian and Doric, and developed others independently of any Greek dialect. Among the latter were the imperfects *eichamen*, “we were having,” and *eichan*, “they were having,” from the verb *echō*, “I have,” and the imperfect *elegan*, “they were saying,” from *legō* “I say.” The Koine also produced many new words by combining commonly used nouns and verbs with prepositions. The New Testament reveals that the common Greek language was also rich in foreign loan words. From Latin it borrowed *centurio*, “captain,” which appears as *kenturion* in the New Testament, and is used at times instead of the good Greek *hekatontarchos*. *Kēnsos* (from Latin *census*), “tax,” *titlos* (from Latin *titulus*), “title,” are also loan words in the New Testament. Other languages besides Latin lent words to the New Testament writers; thus *gaza*, “treasure,” came from the Persian; *kuminon*, “cummin,” from Malay; *bussos*, “linen,” from Phoenician; *baïon*, “palm branch,” from Egyptian; *nardos*, “nard,” from Sanskrit; and *rhedē*, “a four-wheeled coach,” from Celtic.

Many words known from classical Greek received new meanings. For example, *lalia*, which in classical literature meant “empty talk,” “loquacity,” received the new definition “saying” or “speech” (John 4:42); 8:43; *daimonion* and *daimōn*, the “god” of the classic authors, became an “evil spirit”; and *koimēsis*, “natural sleep,” became a synonym for death.

Some words entered the Koine vocabulary from the Roman civil and military administration. Among these were *rhabdouchos*, literally “stick bearer,” the lictor (“serjeant,” cf. Acts 16:35), who carried the Roman insignia before the magistrates; and *chiliarchos*, the commander of a thousand soldiers who was the *tribunus militum* in the Roman military hierarchy.

Sources for a Study of New Testament Greek.—Although much more linguistic work must be done before Koine Greek is completely understood in all its linguistic aspects, the results of years of study have clarified many issues. The following materials

are prominent among those that scholars have used in comparative studies to elucidate Koine.

Hellenistic prose works like those of Polybius (died c. 120 B.C.), written before Attic experienced a revival in the literary circles of the Greek-speaking world, have helped scholars understand Koine. Such writers of the imperial period as Diodorus (died c. 20 B.C.) and Plutarch (died c. A.D. 120) also wrote in the common Greek language of the people. Especially valuable are the works of Philo (c. 20 B.C.—c. A.D. 50), since, like Paul, he was a Jew who had received his scholarly training outside of Palestine, and wrote in Greek. The apocryphal Letter of Aristeas (of uncertain date) and the works of the Jewish historian Josephus (died c. A.D. 100) also serve as comparative material for linguistic studies of Koine.

In addition to literary sources, numerous official documents preserved on stone or papyrus bear the character of the common language, although, like all works of that nature, they commonly use some fixed legal terms and expressions.

The LXX translation of the Old Testament (see Vol. I, p. 39) provides one of the main sources for an understanding of Koine. Since the LXX was a translation, and not an original Greek work, it introduced to the Greek-speaking world many Hebrew and Aramaic theological concepts and expressions. Thus it furnished the early Christian church with theological terminology in Greek that already was familiar among Hellenistic Jews. In this way it became a medium in the hands of the apostles for proclaiming the teachings of Christ to the Jews of the Dispersion in terms which they understood everywhere. Furthermore, from Mesopotamia to Italy it was the Bible for millions of Jews. Hence, most of the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are given according to the LXX. As a result of all these factors, the Greek Old Testament exerted a powerful influence on the linguistic form of the New.

The Christian Greek literature of the 2d century also serves as comparative material for an understanding of New Testament Greek. Among the various works of this period are the writings of certain of the earlier Church Fathers, apocryphal gospels and acts of the apostles, and legends about martyrs.

However, the brightest light on New Testament expressions has been shed by the written products of everyday life, found on papyri and potsherds that have become known since the turn of the century. Discovered by the thousands in ancient Egyptian city dumps and in the bellies of mummified sacred animals that had been stuffed with them, these documents provide an accurate view of the daily life and language of the common people of Egypt in Hellenistic and Roman times. They are official decrees and regulations, petitions of private individuals, complaints and requests, files of business transactions, marriage licenses, bills of divorce, wills, and letters of every kind imaginable. Especially valuable are letters written in a natural and artless style, for they furnish a multitude of expressions used in ancient everyday life. Many of these were written by husbands to their wives, by children to their parents, by friends, slaves, soldiers, officials, and students.

While these documents have proved to be veritable treasures for a better understanding of the New Testament, it is regrettable that they have been preserved only in the dry climate of Egypt. If similar material was extant from Asia Minor, Syria, or Greece, it would doubtless throw further light on Koine, for dialectical differences probably prevailed in those areas.

Some Unique Features of New Testament Greek.—Not all expressions and words found in the New Testament can be explained as belonging to the common Greek language. Some have a definite Hebrew or Aramaic background, others are new creations found only in the Bible. These latter words are sometimes called *voces Biblicae*, “Biblical words.” At the beginning of the present century scholars still numbered them in the hundreds, and often believed them to be inventions of the apostle Paul and other Bible writers. However, since many of them now have been discovered in papyri and other ancient documents, there are today only about 50 such words in the New Testament that have not yet been found in extra-Biblical writings. Examples of such words are *antimisthia*, “reward,” and *apokatallassō*, “to reconcile,” which have chiefly a religious meaning.

Some words pose problems of interpretation even though they do appear in extra-Biblical sources. For example, the word *allotriepiskopos* (1 Peter 4:15), although found outside the Bible, is so obscure that translators have suggested the following five meanings: (1) “a receiver or concealer of stolen goods,” (2) “a police spy,” (3) “an informer,” (4) “one who meddles in other men’s business,” and (5) “a rebel.” The word *epiousios*, translated “daily” in the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6:11), though appearing in non-Biblical documents, remains sufficiently uncertain in meaning that four different interpretations have been proposed by lexicographers: (1) “necessary for life,” (2) “for this day,” (3) “for the following day,” and (4) “for the future.”

Besides these words there are many others in the New Testament which do not appear in non-Biblical works in identical form, but which nevertheless belong to the Koine. Such words are *paroikia*, “a sojourning,” found outside of the Bible only in the form *paroikos*; *anakainōō*, “I renew,” used by Paul instead of the more common *anakainizō*; and *dolioō*, “I deceive,” instead of *doloō*.

Some well-known Koine words received in the New Testament a particular religious meaning which they did not carry in ordinary life. Thus, *ta azuma*, “the unleavened things,” became a fixed term for the Jewish Feast of Unleavened Bread, which followed the Passover; *to anathēma*, “the devoted gift,” became the thing accursed; *baptizō*, “I dip,” or, “I immerse,” was applied in Christian usage particularly to the rite of baptism, and has come into English as a Greek loan word; *hē kibōtos*, “the box,” was used in the New Testament to designate the ark of Noah and the ark of testimony; and *hē paraskeuē*, “the preparation,” became the name for the day preceding the Sabbath, our Friday.

Semitisms in New Testament Greek.—Hebraisms are translations of Hebrew words and idioms. A number of such expressions appear in the New Testament. Thus *prosōpon lambanein* is a translation of the Hebrew expression *naša’ phanim*, literally, “to lift up the face,” which came to mean “to respect a person,” “to discriminate.” The expression *stoma machairas* is the same as the Hebrew *pi chereb*, literally, “mouth of the sword,” which really means “edge of the sword,” or “sharp sword.” The term *geenna* (“hell fire,” Matt. 5:22) reproduces the Hebrew *ge hinnom*, “the Valley of Hinnom,” an expression

that could not be understood by a Greek unfamiliar with the topography of Jerusalem. To the Jews of Palestine it became a symbol of the final place of judgment for the wicked, and the New Testament writers used it in that sense (see on Matt. 5:22).

The frequent use of *huiōi*, “sons,” “children,” with abstract concepts in the genitive, also has its origin in Hebrew and Aramaic. The gospel writers used this word often in reporting the words of Jesus, who spoke in Aramaic. Transmitting His sayings as faithfully as possible into Greek, they used such terms as “children of the resurrection” (Luke 20:36), “children of the bridechamber [”wedding guests “]” (Matt. 9:15), “sons of thunder” (Mark 3:17), “son of peace” (Luke 10:6), “children of light” (John 12:36), and “children of this world” (Luke 16:8).

The influence of the LXX is clearly noticeable in these Semitisms, because the New Testament writers who wrote on spiritual themes unconsciously lived in the language of the Greek Old Testament, the Bible of their time. In this way linguistic peculiarities not found in secular Greek came into the New Testament. For example, the Hebrew word *’im* is usually a conjunction meaning “if.” Sometimes, however, it is a particle indicating a question, somewhat like a question mark. At still other times, in oaths or curses, it signifies an emphatic negation and should then be translated by some English term like “certainly not.” However, in the LXX the Greek *ei* is used regularly for the Hebrew *’im*, even though *ei* normally has only the meaning of “if” and none of these other connotations. The effect of this procedure is seen in Heb. 4:3, where in a divine oath the KJV translates *ei* as “if,” “As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest.” This translation obscures the real meaning, for *ei* is a Semitism, and is correctly rendered in RSV, “As I swore in my wrath, ‘They shall never enter my rest.’”

Some Greek words in the New Testament are purely transliterations of Hebrew terms, like “Alleluia [”praise the Lord”]” (Rev. 19:1); “Amen [”so be it”]” (Matt. 6:13); “manna,” the bread of heaven given to the children of Israel in the desert (John 6:31); “Sabaoth [”hosts”]” (Rom. 9:29); “hosanna [”help now”]” (Matt. 21:9); and many others. The way in which these words have become common in English illustrates the process by which they first became common in Greek.

The New Testament also contains a few Aramaic expressions like “Abba [”father”]” (Mark 14:36); “Ephphatha [”be opened”]” (Mark 7:34); “Corban [”a dedicated gift”]” (Mark 7:11); and “Maran-atha [”the Lord cometh”]” (1 Cor. 16:22).

Literary Differences in New Testament Books.—Differences in literary style within the New Testament can be recognized by every reader of the Greek Bible. The novice in Greek who reads the works of John without difficulty may despair when he attempts to read Paul’s Second Epistle to the Corinthians or the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The authors of the New Testament belonged to different classes of society, and had passed through various types of training and education. These differences in background are reflected in their language. Some used the simplest forms of colloquial Greek, whereas others attempted to approach literary language in their style and expressions.

The simplest Greek in the New Testament is that of Revelation, whereas the most skilled and elegant literary style appears in Hebrews. The works of Luke are closest to Hebrews in excellence of style, and the 13 letters bearing Paul’s name probably rank next.

The Gospel of Mark, on the other hand, reveals a very simple form of language. The author was more concerned about the important content of his study than he was about the literary form. Of all the New Testament writers he used the greatest number of foreign words. Among these were Semitic terms like *rabbi*, “master” (Mark 9:5); *rabbouni*, “lord” (Mark 10:51); *abba*, “father” (Mark 14:36); “talitha cumi” (Mark 5:41); “Corban” (Mark 7:11); “Satan” (Mark 1:13); “Boanerges” (Mark 3:17); and Latin words for “tribute,” Gr. *kēnsos*, Latin *census* (Mark 12:14); “penny,” Gr. *dēnaron*, Latin *denarius* (Mark 6:37); “centurion,” Gr. *kenturiōn*, Latin *centurio* (Mark 15:39); and the verb “to scourge,” Gr. *pharageloō*, Latin *flagello* (Mark 15:15). A lover of refined Greek might not have been pleased with the many foreign words in Mark’s Gospel nor its apparently monotonous use of the conjunction *kai*, “and.”

In these respects the other Gospel writers have furnished a much smoother and better-flowing text. Matthew, for example, avoided *krabatos*, “a stretcher,” “a bed,” a foreign word of doubtful origin employed by Mark, and used instead the good Greek word *klinē* (cf. Mark 2:4, 9, with Matt. 9:2, 6). In place of the Semitic expression “sons of men” (Mark 3:28), Matthew spoke simply of “men,” in giving the same statement of Jesus (Matt. 12:31). Similarly he elsewhere avoided other Semitic phrases. Instead of using, without variation, the conjunction *kai*, “and,” he often connected his clauses by means of the particles, *tote*, “then,” and *de* “but,” or resorted to participial constructions (cf. Mark 1:41 with Matt. 8:3).

Luke went beyond Mark and Matthew in using almost no foreign loan words. Instead of the Latin words for “tax,” “captain,” “penny,” “to scourge,” he employed appropriate Greek terms. His sentence constructions also show a more refined use of Greek phrases. He connected subordinate clauses with main clauses either by participial forms or by relative constructions. Luke always clearly defined his subjects, whereas Mark frequently used a possibly ambiguous “he.” Stories omitted by Mark, but told by Luke and Matthew, show a higher form of Greek in the former than in the latter. Luke’s best Greek appears in those parts of Acts where he reported as an eyewitness, rather than in the Gospels and the early part of Acts where he based his narrative on the written or oral testimony of others. His Greek reveals that he had had the opportunity of a good education; sometimes it approaches classical style.

Paul also showed in his letters that he knew the use of an elevated form of Greek, and his expressions and choice of words occasionally reveal that he was well acquainted with classical Attic. His epistles reflect clearly his education in the university city of Tarsus, and his acquaintance with the cultivated writings of his time. The following literary words, taken from the great number that occur in his writings, show this, although their excellence is lost in English translation: *dispsos*, “thirst” (2 Cor. 11:27); *egkrateuomai*, “to exercise self-control,” “to be temperate” (1 Cor. 7:9; 9:25); *athanasia*, “immortality” (1 Cor. 15:53, 54; 1 Tim. 6:16); *eleutheria*, “liberty” (Gal. 2:4; etc.); *anakephalaioō*, “to

sum up” (Rom. 13:9); Eph. 1:10; *dōrēma*, “gift” (Rom. 5:16); *politeuomai*, “to behave” (Phil. 1:27); *pleonektēs*, “covetous” (1 Cor. 5:10, 11).

Paul sometimes used impressive literary devices to make his words pleasing to the ear. A reading of Rom. 12:3 in Greek shows how strikingly he used the words *huperphronein*, *phronein*, and *sōphronein*. The literary beauty of this verse is lost in translation, where in the KJV these three words are translated respectively, “to think of himself more highly,” “to think,” “to think soberly.” In other passages also Paul effectively used similar-sounding words. A play on words appears in Phil. 3:2, 3, where the terms *katatomē* and *peritomē* reveal Paul’s literary art, and find their echo even in the English translation “concision” and “circumcision.” No translation, however, can adequately portray the literary force of combinations like *phthonos* and *phonos* “envy” and “murder” (Rom. 1:29), and *asunetos* and *asunthetos*, “without understanding” and “covenant-breakers” (Rom. 1:31).

From the standpoint of its language, the Epistle to the Hebrews is the literary masterpiece of the New Testament. This work contains a wealth of fine Greek expressions in beautifully flowing style. Its syntactic structure reveals a pleasant rhythm, while such plays on words as *emathēn* and *epathēn* (“learned,” “suffered,” ch. 5:8), and *menousan* and *mellousan* (“continuing,” “to come,” ch. 13:14) are pleasing to the ear of the Greek reader.

The foregoing survey shows how far reaching is the study of the original language of the New Testament. In order to understand fully the real meaning of the divine word, a knowledge of classical Greek is insufficient, because Bible writers did not use that language. It is necessary, rather, to discover the meaning of a New Testament word in the colloquial speech of the common people of the 1st century, since it was for them that the apostles wrote.

6

II. The Manuscripts of the New Testament

Necessity of a Thorough Text Study.—The books of the New Testament were written some 14 centuries before the art of printing was invented in the Western world. For long centuries the only method of reproducing the Bible was to copy its text by hand. Since all original manuscripts of the Scriptures are lost, the New Testament is available now only in copies, the earliest of which were made many years after the death of the original authors. Almost certainly none of the copies extant today were made from the original writings, but rather from other copies. In the process of recopying the Scriptures for centuries various copyists’ errors were incorporated into later Bible manuscripts.

Printed works can be checked for accuracy if the original manuscript of the author is available. Changes or corrections can be made when a new edition is published, and such changes are easily recognized by comparison with earlier editions. The process is different, however, in regard to works which for centuries have been transmitted by hand

⁶Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

and of which the original manuscripts are unavailable. In this case laborious scientific comparison often is necessary before the scholar can feel that he has probably reached the original reading of each passage. Although only a few of the thousands of variations in New Testament manuscripts are theologically significant, nevertheless since the Christian theologian and Bible student must base his faith on the authentic statements of Bible writers, this work of obtaining a reliable text is extremely important.

Therefore it is the task of the textual scholar to study carefully all extant New Testament manuscripts in order to establish a text that is as close to the original as is humanly possible. Such work is generally known by the name of textual, or lower, criticism. As contrasted with higher, or literary, criticism, which has done much to undermine faith in God's Word, lower criticism does not concern itself with the Bible as such. It endeavors, rather, by a process of critical and diligent study, to detect and eliminate copyists' mistakes and thus to arrive at a form of Biblical text that is as nearly as possible the same as that which came from the hands of the original writers. Such work has been extremely rewarding, and its accomplishments and discoveries have done much in recent years to re-establish confidence in the Bible text.

For a study of New Testament textual criticism see pp. 140-148.

The Nature of Textual Variants.—Many of these manuscripts were produced, not by professional scribes, but, especially in the early centuries when the churches were still poor, by Christians who had little education. Poor handwriting, many spelling mistakes, and other scribal errors due to unfamiliarity with the art of writing show this to have been so.

A typical copyist's error is the interchange of synonyms such as "to speak," "to say," or "to tell." Many such exchanges appear in New Testament manuscripts, although the meaning of the text is in such cases not affected. For example, some manuscripts have the word *ēlthon*, "came," instead of *erchontai*, "come" in Matt. 25:11. The difference is only one of tense and may not even be noticeable in a translation.

In many places the sequence of the words differs from one manuscript to another even though the thought may be identical. Most of these again are of no importance, as an example from Matt. 4:1 shows. Following are literal translations of four different New Testament manuscripts:

1. "Then Jesus was led up into the desert by the spirit to be tempted by the devil."
2. "Then Jesus was led up by the spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil."
3. "Then Jesus was led up into the desert to be tempted by the devil."
4. "Then Jesus was led up into the desert to be tempted by the spirit."

The first reading is that of Codex Vaticanus, from the 4th century; the second, of Codex Sinaiticus, also from the 4th century, and of another manuscript of the 9th century; the third and fourth readings are of later medieval manuscripts.

Another type of mistake that occurs frequently is omission of words, phrases, or even whole lines. Every typist knows how easy it is to jump from one word to the same one several lines lower on the page and thus to miss the whole section lying between these two words. Scholars call this a homoeoteleutic error. Not only this kind of text omission but others as well are encountered in New Testament manuscripts.

In other cases, additions to the text appear. For example, "the" is added to nouns in certain passages that do not have it in the oldest manuscripts, the word "Christ" is added

where the oldest text has only “Jesus,” and similarly the attribute “holy” is prefixed to the word “Spirit.”

Other variants are caused by mistakes in spelling, and confusion of words that look similar to the eye but have different meanings account for other variants. Since early New Testament manuscripts were in capital letters only, with no spaces between words, no punctuation marks, and no accents, it was easy for the untrained eye to misread certain words. Furthermore, some manuscripts show that notes written in the margins by readers were sometimes mistakenly considered part of the original text by a later copyist and were incorporated in new manuscripts. Doubtless such copyists thought that the marginal note was an omission overlooked by a previous copyist, and that it had been put in the margin after the supposed error had been discovered. In this way additions that are not present in the older copies have appeared in later manuscripts.

Besides all these unintentional variants caused by human imperfection, other changes appear in some later manuscripts, which reveal a studious effort to improve the text. In some instances, difficult passages were made simpler by explanatory remarks; in others rough words were replaced by smoother ones; in still others unusual grammatical constructions were exchanged for more common ones. Some copyists of the Gospels show the influence of similar expressions in parallel texts, and others changed unfamiliar Old Testament quotations to agree with the Old Testament text familiar to them.

Since the New Testament books found a wide distribution, and many thousands of copies were made by people of various linguistic abilities, it is not difficult to understand how variants came into Bible manuscripts. Church leaders noticed these differences and made efforts from time to time to arrive at a uniform text by revision. Thus they sometimes declared certain readings to be correct even though these readings were not always based on early manuscript evidence. In this way the church sanctioned a Greek text—the Byzantine (see p. 145)—which for many centuries was generally accepted although it probably varied in many details from the text known to the early church.

The Restoration of the Original Text.—The above discussion has shown the nature of the textual variants that the student of New Testament manuscripts encounters. In order to reconstruct a text that is as nearly identical as possible with the original, he must register and remove these variants. This involves much critical, scientific work.

First of all, every extant Bible manuscript must be found, studied, and reproduced in photographic facsimile. In this way these texts become available to scholarship in general, not simply to the few scholars who may live near where they are kept. This process is especially necessary for the oldest manuscripts, for, generally speaking, they have the greatest value for textual studies.

A comparison of older manuscripts with those of more recent date reveals mistakes that can be recognized easily and eliminated. Sometimes the same mistakes appear in a number of manuscripts that all go back to a particular text form, called an archetype. If this archetype is extant, scholars may then lay aside as unimportant for textual studies all later copies based on it. They then compare the several archetypes in an attempt to arrive at what is probably the original reading of all manuscripts. This work of ascertaining the earliest possible archetype on the basis of all available manuscript material is called recension.

The work of textual criticism is more difficult than may appear from the foregoing description. The relationship of various manuscripts to one another is not always easily

recognizable, since some of them are not clear descendants of one archetype, but are hybrid in form. Not only must the New Testament scholar wrestle with these problems; he must also compare critically the earliest translations and quotations of New Testament passages in the writings of the Church Fathers, and weigh their evidence against that of the manuscripts.

There are more than 5,200 manuscripts of the Greek New Testament known to exist. This great number increases the work of the textual scholar. At the same time, however, it allows him to arrive at more reliable and satisfactory results than if he had only a few early text witnesses, as is the case, for example, with the scholar who works in the field of ancient non-Biblical literature, where usually only a few early copies exist. Thus Aristotle's famous *Athenian Constitution* and the *Didache*, a Christian work of the 2d century, are each known only from one late copy. In such instances it is impossible to ascertain the original form of these texts.

Writing Materials and Styles.—Various writing materials were available to the New Testament writers. In their day people commonly wrote on pieces of broken pottery, on wooden tablets covered with wax, on leather and parchment, and on papyrus. For longer documents or literary works such as the books of the New Testament, papyrus was the cheapest and most commonly used writing material.

Papyrus. This writing material originated in Egypt. The earliest Egyptian papyrus documents date from the 6th Egyptian Dynasty in the 3d millennium B.C. From 1100 B.C. there is evidence that papyrus scrolls were a favorite export item, which the Egyptians exchanged for cedarwood in the Phoenician harbor city of Gebal. From Gebal the Phoenicians carried it to all parts of the Mediterranean world. The Greeks corrupted the name Gebal into Byblos, and since they received their writing material from that city, they called it, as well as the scrolls made from it, by the name *byblos*, which by way of Latin has found a place in the English language in the word Bible, the Book of books, or in such words as bibliography and bibliophile. After Egypt opened its borders to foreigners under Psamtik I (663-610 B.C.), papyrus became the leading writing material of the ancient world, and held this place for many centuries. During the Ptolemaic and Roman periods there were great factories and storehouses for papyrus in Alexandria.

Papyrus was made of the stem of the papyrus plant, which in ancient times grew luxuriously in the thickets of the Nile Delta. The stem was cut with a sharp knife into thin strips about 10 in. long, which were laid down in two layers at right angles to each other, so that the fibers lay horizontally on one side and vertically on the other. These layers were then glued together with a gum solution, and pressure was applied. When the square sheets formed in this way had dried, the surfaces were smoothed by rubbing with pumice stone. Usually only the side on which the fibers ran horizontally was used for writing, but for reasons of economy both sides occasionally were inscribed. In Rev. 5:1, John speaks of a papyrus scroll with writing on both sides.

For a letter, a request, or some other short communication, a single sheet of papyrus was usually sufficiently large. Literary compositions, however, required a scroll, which was made by gluing together a number of sheets. The most common length of such a scroll was about 30 ft., but some were considerably longer. The longest ever found, the great Papyrus Harris now in the British Museum, has a length of 143 ft.

These scrolls, or books, called by the Greeks *biblia* and by the Romans *volumina*, could be seen in public and private libraries and in the bookshops of large cities during

the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The original Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament were most probably written on papyrus scrolls, which were large enough for the longest single book of the New Testament, the Acts of the Apostles. For a short letter like Philemon, 2 or 3 John, of Jude, a single sheet was sufficient.

During the 2d century A.D. bound books made their appearance. A number of wide sheets were put upon each other, and then folded in the middle and sewed together in the fold like the signatures of a modern book. Such a book is called a codex.

The pen for writing on papyrus was made of a reed, the end of which was beaten into a fine brush. The ink was a mixture of soot, water, and a gummy substance. The writing was in columns of various width, and usually contained from 14 to 30 letters.

Parchment. The best-preserved and most famous manuscripts of the New Testament are not on papyrus, but on parchment, a material made of the hides of young goats, sheep, calves, and antelopes. These hides were tanned with lime, shaved, scraped, smoothed, and stretched over a frame. Although this process had been applied for centuries in tanning hides for leather, the people of Pergamum brought it to such a state of excellence during the 2d century B.C. that the material received its name from this city. The word for parchment in Spanish is still *pergamino* and in German *Pergament*. A parchment manuscript was called by the Greeks a *diphthera*, and by the Latins a *membrana*, a word which Paul borrowed in 2 Tim. 4:13.

During the later imperial period parchment replaced papyrus to such an extent that the latter lost its importance. Thus Bible manuscripts produced at that time, like the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus from the 4th century, were written on parchment. The church historian Eusebius recounts that in A.D. 331 the emperor Constantine ordered 50 parchment copies of the Scriptures made for the churches of Constantinople, the new capital of the empire (*The Life of Constantine* iv. 36).

Parchment codices were usually made by laying four rectangular sheets on top of each other, folding them in the middle, and sewing them together in the fold. Signatures thus formed were then bound together like a modern book. Generally speaking, this is still the method used in binding books.

The ink used for writing on parchment was usually not the carbon ink employed on papyrus, which could be washed off easily, but an ink made of iron and galls. The fine, brushlike reed pen used for papyrus was replaced in the Greek and Roman period by the split pen, made also of reed or of metal. Evenly spaced horizontal lines impressed on the parchment by a metal stylus helped to give the writing an even appearance, and similar vertical lines marked the width of columns and margins. Since these impressions showed up on the reverse as raised lines, they were drawn only on one side.

Professional scribes produced most parchment manuscripts. Luxury editions on extra-fine parchment leaves were available on special order. In such cases the writing was done with extraordinary care and the initial letters were pieces of art. Some parchments were dyed purple-red and written with silver or gold ink, as examples in the libraries of Patmos, Leningrad, Vienna, London, and Rome show. During the Middle Ages scribes frequently added miniature pictures to their texts.

In times of economic stress, when the cost of parchment, which was always expensive, skyrocketed, old manuscripts were frequently reused. The original writing was scraped and washed off with soap and water, and the writing surface was resmoothed by the use of pumice. A manuscript written on such a reused parchment is called a codex

rescriptus, “a rewritten codex,” or a palimpsest, “a rescraped one.” Unfortunately, the erased text, being the older, is often the more important one. But such an erased text is very difficult to decipher and its restoration requires patient and careful study, plus the use of infrared photography. The two most famous Bible manuscripts of this type are the Codex Ephraemi in Paris and a Syriac Gospel manuscript in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai.

Parchment remained the most important writing material until the 16th century, when it was displaced by paper. As early as the 2d century B.C. the Chinese invented paper, and although the Arabs introduced it to the Occidental world in the 8th century, the Western world did not generally use it until the 13th.

Uncials and Minuscules. There is a striking difference between the script of commonplace ancient Greek documents such as letters and bills, and that of literary works. The former are written in a cursive manner, with many letters connected, but the latter were written almost exclusively in well-separated, carefully written formal letters, adapted from the capitals used in inscriptions. In contrast with Hebrew manuscripts, in which words were separated either by a mark or by a space, these Greek manuscripts show no such divisions. Punctuation marks, accents, and breathing marks were also lacking in such texts. The letters of this “bookhand” are called uncials, the name being derived from the Latin *uncia*, meaning “a twelfth part.” Presumably an ordinary line of writing contained twelve such letters. A codex written in such script also came to be known as an uncial.

About the beginning of the 9th century a more beautiful and elegant cursive form of writing than the ancient, nonliterary hands was developed for the production of books. The letters were smaller and took less space and could be written more rapidly than the uncials. These letters were called minuscules, which means, literally, “rather small.” The earliest known Bible manuscript written in minuscules is a Greek text now in Leningrad, which bears the date A.D. 835. From the latter 9th century on, minuscules replaced uncials more and more, until by the 10th or the 11th century the latter were completely outmoded. Greek Bible manuscripts up to and including the 8th century are therefore exclusively uncials, those from the 9th and 10th centuries are partly uncials and partly minuscules, and all from the 11th century onward are minuscules.

Script is thus one of the factors that help to establish the age of Bible manuscript. Other evidences are the form of the letters, the shape of the handwriting, the kind of abbreviations used, and the relationship of the letters to the lines drawn. Taken together, all these factors make it possible for a paleographer usually to establish within narrow limits the age of written documents, even when they bear no dates.

Scribes accustomed to writing narrow columns on papyrus retained this habit when writing on the much larger-sized parchment sheets, and therefore wrote several columns on each page. The oldest fairly complete Bible manuscripts, the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus, respectively, have four, three, and two columns each (see illustrations facing p. 129). Most Bible manuscripts of the uncial type have two columns, like modern printed English Bibles. Minuscules, however, usually contain only one column to a page, since in the course of time the size of book leaves became smaller.

Another external aspect of ancient Bible manuscripts that helps the student of the New Testament to understand certain problems of exegesis is the fact that word divisions at the end of a line were made arbitrarily without any rules. Thus a word might be divided

after any of its letters. This has given rise to certain variants in Bible manuscripts and translations. For example, in Mark 10:40 the Old Latin translators read *alloys* instead of *all ois*, and consequently made Jesus to say, “for others it is prepared,” rather than “for whom it is prepared.”

Since these ancient manuscripts had no punctuation marks, clauses sometimes were divided from each other at the wrong point. A classic example of this occurs in Luke 23:43 (see comment there). Although scribes occasionally divided paragraphs from each other by spaces, their manuscripts contain no division of subject matter into chapters or verses, as is found in Bibles today. Division into chapters was introduced in the 13th century, according to some authorities, by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (died A.D. 1228), and according to others, by the Spanish cardinal Hugo a Santo Caro about A.D. 1250. Verse divisions were not introduced until three centuries later, when the publisher Robert Stephanus of Paris placed them in his Greek-Latin edition of 1551 to help in finding passages in the two different texts.

The sacred words *God*, *Lord*, *Jesus*, and *Christ* were nearly always abbreviated by contraction. It is thought that this was done out of reverence, like the treatment of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew MSS. The practice was extended to include a total of fifteen words, mostly relating to God and sacred matters. A horizontal line over these *nomina sacra* indicates that a contraction has taken place.

Principal Manuscripts of the New Testament.—*Papyri*. To designate New Testament papyri the symbol P is generally used with small raised numbers (P¹, and P², etc.). Although most copies of the New Testament written during the first three centuries of the Christian Era must have been on papyrus, only 44 fragments of such manuscripts were known before about 1930. Because of their small size these previously known fragments had little value for the history of the New Testament text. But with the discovery of two major groups of papyri during the present century the picture has radically changed. Today more than 80 New Testament papyri are known, and major portions of the New Testament are represented.

About 1930 a group of papyrus manuscripts were discovered somewhere near Hermopolis in Egypt, most of which were acquired by A. Chester Beatty. The find consisted of portions of eleven different codices, seven of which represented the Greek text of eight Old Testament books, and three containing major portions of the Greek New Testament. The ten codices containing Biblical books were all published from 1933 to 1937 by Sir Frederic Kenyon, a first-rate expert in the field of Biblical manuscripts.

The three New Testament codices are from the 3d century. They are thus about a century older than the earliest New Testament manuscripts known previously, except for some small fragments. The codex which originally consisted of the Gospels and Acts (P) is represented by 30 incomplete leaves, which contain representative portions of all four Gospels and of 14 chapters of Acts. With the exception of the Matthew portion, enough is preserved to give a clear picture of the nature of this 3d-century Gospel manuscript.

The second codex (P) consists of 86 slightly damaged leaves containing Paul's epistles. It is believed originally to have consisted of 104 leaves. The sequence of the extant books is Romans, Hebrews, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philemon, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians. The original collection of books in this codex probably included 2 Thessalonians following 1 Thessalonians, but the Pastoral Epistles seem to have been missing.

The third New Testament codex of the Chester Beatty Papyri (P) consists of 10 damaged leaves containing sections of Rev. 9 to 17. The whole work must have consisted of 32 leaves. This manuscript was especially welcome, since there were very few early manuscripts that contained the book of Revelation.

Although these three papyrus codices are fragmentary, they have great value, since they furnish a text of representative portions of 15 New Testament books a hundred years older than the earliest texts known up to 1930. Although there are great gaps in these preserved texts, nevertheless if we compare them with other Bible manuscripts, it is possible to determine the kind of New Testament the Christian church of Egypt used during the 3d century, slightly more than a century after the death of the apostles.

Another extremely important papyrus fragment discovered in 1935 is the Rylands papyrus No. 457 (P). It had been bought, with many other fragments, by Grenfell in 1920 for the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, but its character was not recognized until C. H. Roberts examined it in 1935. This little fragment of papyrus, about 3 1/2 by 2 1/2 in. in size, contains only parts of John 18:31–33 on the front and of vs. 37 and 38 on the back. All papyrus experts agree that it was written in the first half of the 2d century, and some prominent European scholars have dated it in the time of the emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117). Although insignificant in size, this fragment has been of tremendous value. It has silenced those critics who dated the origin of the fourth Gospel in the late 2d century. The fact that the Gospel of John was originally written in Asia Minor, but had spread so far by the early 2d century that a copy was already current in Egypt at that time, raises the strong presumption that John's Gospel was composed during the apostolic age. See illustration facing p. 128.

The value of these discoveries was rivaled by the publication of the Bodmer papyri in the mid-1950's and early 1960's. The collection was named after M. Martin Bodmer, a Genevan bibliophile and humanist, founder of the Bodmer Library of World Literature at Cologny, a suburb of Geneva, who purchased them from an Egyptian dealer. In addition to classical, apocryphal, and early Christian works, the collection contains Biblical manuscripts in Greek, as well as in Coptic. The New Testament manuscripts are of capital importance.

Bodmer Papyrus II, P, was published in 1956 by Victor Martin, professor of classical philology in the University of Geneva. With the exception of John 6:12–35^a, the publiaction contained the first 14 chapters (down to 14:15) of the Gospel of John. On paleographical grounds Martin dated the manuscript c. A.D. 200. Herbert Hunger, the director of papyrological collections in the National Library in Vienna, advocated an earlier date, about the middle of the second century. According to these dates, the papyrus is 125 years or more earlier than the great uncials listed below. It is the best preserved of all of the Biblical papyri and takes us back to about a hundred years after the fourth Gospel was originally written. It must therefore be regarded as an important witness to the original wording of that Gospel. The 100 pages published measure 6 by 5 1/2 inches. In 1958 the fragments of the remaining 46 pages of the papyrus were published. A facsimile of the entire manuscript was published in 1962.

Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV, P⁷⁵, containing major portions of Luke and John, was published by V. Martin and P. Kaiser in 1961. These editors dated it between A.D. 175 and 225. It consists of 102 of about 144 original pages, each measuring 10 1/2 by 5 1/8 inches. It contains Luke 3:18 to 18:18 and Luke 22:4 to John 15:8. Its text agrees in the

main with Codex Vaticanus and the Sahidic manuscripts of the Coptic version. It may be slightly older than P and seems to contain a better text. Both manuscripts support the Alexandrian text type, but whereas P⁷⁵ agrees with Codex Vaticanus, P seems to be closer to Codex Sinaiticus, while at the same time preserving readings not found elsewhere in the manuscripts. P⁷⁵ contains the earliest known copy of the Gospel of Luke, and, probably, the next to the oldest of John. It is therefore of inestimable value. These MSS show that the Alexandrian type of text was in existence at least as early as A.D. 200.

Papyrus Bodmer, VII–VIII, P, contains the earliest known copies of Jude and 1 and 2 Peter. These were bound up with a miscellaneous assortment of other documents, the total codex representing the work of four different scribes. Besides the three epistles, the collection contains the Nativity of Mary, apocryphal correspondence of Paul to the Corinthians, the Eleventh Ode of Solomon, Melito's Homily on the Passover, a fragment of a hymn, the Apology of Philias, and Psalms 33 and 34. This papyrus codex, dating from the third century, was published by Michael Testuz in 1959. The text of the epistles is substantially like that of Codex Vaticanus and the Sahidic version.

Papyrus Bodmer XVII, P⁷⁴, was published in 1961 by Rudolphe Kasser. It contains portions of Acts, James, 1 and 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. It is in a poor state of preservation and does not have the importance of the papyri mentioned, since it comes from the seventh century.

Number and Symbols of Uncial Parchment Manuscripts. More than 265 uncials on parchment, some only small fragments, are now known. Since discoveries of unknown Bible manuscripts are regularly made, no given number is accurate for long.

For more than a century scholars have been accustomed to designate the principal uncials by capital letters of the Latin alphabet (A, B, C, etc.). When these were exhausted, they used those capital letters of the Greek alphabet that are different from the Latin letters, such as Γ, Δ, Λ, and when more symbols were desired, recourse was had to the Hebrew alphabet. Hence, scholars designate the famous Codex Vaticanus by the symbol B, the Koridethianus by the Greek Θ, and the Sinaiticus by the Hebrew Ⲛ.

Although these symbols have found such wide acceptance among New Testament scholars that they can scarcely be displaced, their use has disadvantages, since the letters of even three alphabets are not sufficient in number to furnish a symbol for every uncial. For this reason Caspar René Gregory, one of the greatest of textual critics, introduced another system, giving to each uncial a sequential number prefixed by O, as O1, O2, O3, etc. Although Gregory's system is the best proposed thus far, it has found few adherents. Hermann von Soden, another noted scholar, suggested yet a different system, but scholars have not accepted it generally.

Only a few manuscripts contain all the books of the New Testament. Although there are about 190 known uncials, only 4 of them originally contained all the books, and only 46 of some 2,750 known minuscules have the entire New Testament. A complete collection of all New Testament books in one volume was unwieldy and expensive. For this reason most manuscripts contain only parts of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels, the epistles of Paul, or the general epistles. Since the Gospels and Paul's writings were in wider use in the early church than were the general epistles, these books occur in a greater number of manuscripts.

The Principal Uncials. No student of the New Testament text can remember all Bible manuscripts, and scarcely even all uncials. However, he should be acquainted with some

of the oldest and most famous manuscripts on whose testimony standard printed editions of the Greek New Testament text and modern translations such as the RV, ASV, and RSV are based.

CODEx VATICANUS (B). The Codex Vaticanus is one of the two oldest parchment codices of the Bible now known. How it found its way into the Vatican Library is unknown, but in 1481, when the first catalogue of that library was made, the Codex Vaticanus already was part of it. For several centuries it remained unused, and Vatican authorities occasionally even withheld it from scholars who wished to consult it. After many fruitless efforts the German textual critic, Constantin Tischendorf, finally succeeded in obtaining permission for its publication, which occurred in 1867. A scientifically satisfactory facsimile reproduction appeared in 1904, making this priceless document available to all scholars.

The extant codex consists of 759 leaves, of which 142 contain the New Testament. The Gospels, the Acts, the general epistles, and Paul's letters up to Heb. 9:14 are preserved. The remainder of Hebrews, 1 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Revelation are missing. The pages are 9 by 9 in. in size, containing three columns of 42 lines each. The writing is neat and elegant and is in the style of the 4th century. The manuscript has unfortunately suffered through additions by a later hand sometime between the 8th and 10th centuries, which retraced script that had become faint, and added diacritical markings. Furthermore, this unknown scribe acted as a textual critic by refusing to retrace such words and letters as seemed to him out of place. Two later correctors made even further alterations. See illustration facing p. 129.

CODEx SINAITICUS (א), sometimes indicated by the symbol S, especially by printers who do not have a font of Hebrew letters). This manuscript is the second of the two oldest parchment codices of the Bible. Tischendorf discovered 129 leaves of it in a wastepaper basket in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai in 1844. Of these, he was able to take away at the time 43 leaves, which came into the possession of the library of the University of Leipzig. After a second search in 1853, which proved fruitless, he finally succeeded in discovering the remainder of the manuscript during a third stay at the monastery in 1859. Through Tischendorf's mediation, the monastery donated the codex to Alexander II, czar of Russia, who placed it in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. In 1933 the Soviet Government sold it to Great Britain for £100,000, and since that time it has been in the British Museum in London. In 1862 Tischendorf published the Sinaiticus in facsimile type in four monumental volumes. A photographic reproduction appeared in 1911. See illustration facing p. 129.

This codex consists of 346 leaves; the complete New Testament occupies 145 of these. Also included are the apocryphal Letter of Barnabas and one third of the Shepherd of Hermas. The pages measure 17 by 15 in., and contain 4 columns of 48 lines each. The script, although similar to that of Vaticanus, is somewhat less carefully executed, and contains many corrections made by three different hands. This manuscript was written in the 4th century, probably somewhat later than Vaticanus.

CODEx ALEXANDRINUS (A). For several centuries this uncial was the only ancient Bible manuscript generally known in Europe. It was written in the 5th century in Egypt. In 1621 the well-known Greek patriarch Cyril Lucar took it from Alexandria to Constantinople upon his appointment to the patriarchate of the latter city. Seven years later he presented it to King Charles I of England. In 1757 George II installed it in the

British Museum. Its New Testament text was first published in 1786 in type, a photographic reproduction was produced in 1879, and a second edition was issued on a reduced scale in 1909.

The manuscript comprises a total of 773 leaves, of which the New Testament accounts for 144. The leaves are 12 1/2 by 10 1/2 in., and carry two columns of 50 lines each. The script is heavy and large. Missing from the manuscript are chapters 1–24 of Matthew, two leaves of John, and 3 leaves of 2 Corinthians. In addition to the canonical books of the New Testament, Alexandrinus also contains the two epistles of Clement of Rome. See illustration facing p. 129.

CODEx EPHRAEMI RESCRIPTUS (C). This palimpsest was originally in Constantinople, from where it was taken to Florence when Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453. When Catherine de' Medici became the bride of Henry II of France in the 16th century, she received this manuscript as part of her dowry and took it to Paris, where it is now in the National Library. Originally written in the 5th century, the text of this manuscript was erased in the 12th century and replaced by 38 treatises of the Syrian Church Father Ephraem, from whom the codex received its name. Although the original text had been declared illegible, Tischendorf, after patiently working two years, successfully deciphered the manuscript and published its New Testament portion in facsimile type in 1843.

The manuscript consists of 209 leaves, of which 64 contain sections of the Old Testament, and 145 of the New. These leaves are 12 1/2 by 19 1/2 in., and carry only one column to the page. Every book of the New Testament is represented with the exception of 2 Thessalonians and 2 John, but none is perfect; thus only about five eighths of the New Testament is extant.

CODEx FREERIANUS (W). This codex was written toward the end of the 4th or in the early 5th century and contains the Gospels only. In 1906 Mr. Charles L. Freer bought it in Cairo. It is now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. This manuscript shows strange peculiarities in its text. Matthew, Luke 8:13 to Luke 24:53, and John 1:1 to John 5:12 exhibit the Byzantine type of text; the rest of Luke and of John agree with the text presented by the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus; Mark 1:1 to Mark 5:30 reveals a Western type of text, and the remainder of Mark, a Caesarean. (See below for a further discussion of these various types of text.) Another variant in the ending of Mark is the so-called "Freer Logion," for a discussion of which see on Mark 16:14.

CODEx BEZAE CANTABRIGIENSIS (D). This manuscript is an uncial of the 6th century containing the Gospels and Acts in both Greek and Latin. It takes its name from the fact that it was once the property of the French Reformer Theodorus Beza, who in 1581 presented it to the library of the University of Cambridge. Its bilingual character points either to southern France or to southern Italy as its place of origin. Especially in Luke's writings this manuscript shows strange peculiarities that are found also in Old Syriac and Old Latin translations. It also contains many gaps.

CODEx CLAROMONTANUS (D). The letter D is also assigned to this bilingual manuscript, since it contains only Paul's epistles, which Codex Bezae does not have, and it also once belonged to Beza. The manuscript takes its name from the monastery of Clermont, to which it at one time belonged. It is now in the National Library in Paris. Like Bezae, Claromontanus is from the 6th century and was probably once a companion volume to it.

CODEx KORIDETHIANUS (Θ). This uncial of the Gospels differs in many respects from those already mentioned. It is of late origin, having been written probably in the 9th century by an unskilled scribe who had only a rudimentary knowledge of Greek. Von Soden noticed it first in 1906, but it did not become well known until Beermann and Gregory published it in 1913. Its name is derived from the monastery of Koridethi in the Caucasus, where it formerly was kept. It is now at Tiflis in the U.S.S.R. Koridethianus is a valuable manuscript because its text, particularly of Mark, is of the Caesarean type, which goes back at least to the third century.

Minuscules. Although there are more than 2,750 minuscules available for study, their value is far less than that of the uncials, because they are of rather late date. Only 46 minuscules contain the whole New Testament; all others carry only parts of it, the Gospels being represented most often. Minuscule manuscripts are identified by Arabic numerals.

Although most minuscules reveal a type of text that is of late origin, there are some that apparently are copies of very early manuscripts. Minuscule 33, for example, has a text that is almost identical with that of Codex Vaticanus. Some minuscules form families, like 1, 118, 131, and 209, which Kirsopp Lake discovered go back to an archetype similar to the Greek New Testament that Origen used in Caesarea, generally called the Caesarean text. Another related family was discovered by the Irish scholar W. H. Farrar, minuscules 13, 69, 124, and 346.

Lectionaries. Lectionaries are books containing the New Testament scriptural lessons in their proper sequence, to be read in worship services during the church year. Some contain the lections for the Sabbaths and Sundays only, while others include those for weekdays, as well. The number of known lectionary manuscripts has reached 2,135. Although their value for the reconstruction of the original text is very small, since most of them are rather late copies, they do aid in helping to trace the places of origin and the geographical spread of certain readings, as the monasteries and churches in which these manuscripts were written are often known.

A summary of available New Testament manuscripts reveals that scholars are in the possession of some manuscripts that are not far removed in time from the original authors. The great uncials, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, were written about 250 years after the apostles, and the Beatty and Bodmer Papyri go back a century earlier, so that there is a gap of little more than 100 years between the writing of the originals and the production of our earliest extant copies. In this respect the New Testament scholar is in a much more fortunate position than the student of other famous Greek works of antiquity. For example, the writings of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, and others are known only through medieval copies written in minuscules, 12 to 16 centuries after the death of their authors. Copies of Latin works are removed usually 500 to 700 years from their authors. Because New Testament manuscripts go back so much nearer to the originals, modern scholarly editions of the Greek New Testament can be depended upon as not varying in virtually any important point from the manuscripts of the original writers.

The Ancient Translations of the New Testament.—When Christian teaching spread into countries where Greek was not spoken, versions of the sacred writings of the church in the vernacular were needed. Hence, probably toward the end of the 2d century, the New Testament was translated into Syriac, a form of Aramaic spoken in northern Syria

and Upper Mesopotamia. For the Christians of Italy and Northern Africa translations were made into Latin about the same time, and for the believers of Upper Egypt, into Coptic also probably before A.D. 200. Later, mostly during the early Middle Ages, translations were made into Gothic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

The most ancient versions, Syriac, Old Latin, and Coptic, have great value for textual research. Their importance lies in the fact that they were made earlier than any extant Greek manuscript. Thus they serve as witnesses to the textual types that existed toward the end of the 2d century. Since they come from limited geographical areas, they are also helpful in revealing the place of origin of certain peculiar readings and textual variants. However, their usefulness is also subject to limitations in that no translation is a faithful rendering of the original, and these ancient translations are extant only in later copies which, like all other manuscripts, have their own textual histories. The same limitations are shared by later medieval translations such as the Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, Waldensian, and Old German. Some of these, indeed, were translations of translations, having been taken from the Latin Vulgate rather than the Greek text.

Old Latin Translations. These translations date from the time before Jerome produced the Vulgate late in the 4th century. Each manuscript varies widely from all the others. Augustine, commenting on this fact, said that the number was known of those who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek (the Seventy), but that this could not be said of the number of those who had made Latin translations. Fewer than 50 manuscripts of these Old Latin translations are known, coming from the 4th to the 13th century. Their text is closely related to the Greek text of Bezae, and in some respects to that of the Old Syriac translation. The name *Itala*, frequently applied to the Old Latin translations, is incorrect, and is based on a misunderstanding of an expression of Augustine, who actually used this term for the Vulgate.

The Vulgate. The great differences between the various Old Latin translations necessitated a complete revision. This was undertaken by Jerome under the sponsorship of his friend Pope Damasus. Jerome used an Old Latin text of European type and corrected it in accordance with Greek manuscripts. He began his work on the New Testament about A.D. 382. By 405 he had also made a translation of the Old Testament. Since his work was sponsored by Rome, Jerome's translation gradually replaced earlier versions, and finally received the honored title of Vulgate, "the common one." Its acceptance, however, was not secured until its text had experienced some modifications. Hence, the Vulgate, as known today, is by no means purely the product of Jerome. A critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament was published at Oxford by a group of Anglican scholars (1899–1954). Since 1907, Benedictine scholars have been at work on a revised Latin Bible; most of the Old Testament books have been published.

Old Syriac Translations. The history of Bible translations into Syriac shows great similarities to that of translations into Latin inasmuch as early translations of obscure origin finally gave way to a recognized standard version.

THE DIATESSARON. The Diatessaron is a Gospel harmony prepared by the apologist Tatian probably in the second half of the 2d century. Its name probably means literally, "through four," implying that it is a harmony of the four Gospels. Although for several centuries the Syrian church used the Diatessaron almost exclusively instead of the four Gospels, no Syriac copy of Tatian's work is extant. It is known only from some free translations into Arabic, Latin, Dutch, and from one leaf of a Greek text. The question as

to whether or not the Diatessaron was written originally in Syriac or in Greek is not settled.

THE CURETONIAN SYRIAC. This manuscript of the Gospels, found in a Coptic monastery in Egypt, came into the possession of the British Museum in 1842. It was written in the 5th century, and is named after its modern editor, W. Cureton. The translation of the four Gospels, of which it is a copy, was made about A.D. 200.

THE SINATIC SYRIAC. This manuscript of the Gospels was discovered by Mrs. A. S. Lewis and Mrs. A. D. Gibson in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai in 1892. It is a palimpsest, and presents a translation that is probably earlier than that preserved by the Curetonian Syriac.

No manuscript of the Old Syriac version of Acts and the Pauline epistles is extant. It is known only through citations by Eastern Fathers and, in the case of Acts, by Ephraim's commentary preserved only in Armenian.

The Peshitta. This version, whose name means "simple" or "common" was produced about the beginning of the fifth century and became the Syriac Vulgate even after the Syriac churches split into Nestorian and Monophysite branches in A.D. 431. This version lacked four of the general epistles (2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John) and Revelation. More than 350 manuscripts of it are known, of which several date from the 5th or 6th centuries.

The Coptic Translations. The native language of Egypt in Christian times is known as Coptic. The Coptic dialect used in Lower Egypt was called Bohairic, and that current in Upper Egypt was termed Sahidic. More than 120 New Testament manuscripts in Bohairic, dating probably from the 9th century to the 12th, are known. These show few variants and are faithful reproductions of the type of text represented by the great Greek manuscripts, the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus.

A Sahidic translation is also extant that is closely related in textual form to the Bohairic version. At the same time it also contains readings found in Codex Bezae, in Old Latin and in Old Syriac translations. Extant manuscripts of the Sahidic New Testament are not so plentiful as those in Bohairic. They date probably from the 5th to the 9th century. It is not settled just when these Coptic translations were originally made, but it seems probable that the Sahidic appeared in the early 3d century, and the Bohairic a little later.

Quotations of the Church Fathers.—The Church Fathers used the New Testament freely, as may be seen from the great number of quotations found in their works. Justin Martyr, in his writings, uses 300 direct or indirect New Testament quotations; Irenaeus, 1,800; Clement of Alexandria, 2,400; Tertullian, more than 7,000; Origen, almost 18,000. New Testament quotations in early Christian literature have about the same value for textual study as the early translations, since works composed in the 2d and 3d centuries are older than most extant Bible manuscripts. Furthermore it is usually known when and where the Church Fathers lived, and the character of their quotations is therefore often a help in finding the place and approximate time of origin of certain variants and types of text. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the type of text used by Cyprian, who wrote in North Africa, was probably a text common in that part of the world. Similarly, the text quoted by Origen, who lived first in Alexandria and later in Caesarea, was not probably either the Alexandrian or Caesarean recension. When agreements are found between quotations in the works of the Church Fathers and certain New Testament manuscripts, it

may be concluded that the latter represent a text type common at the time and place those particular Fathers wrote.

However, it should not be overlooked that the use of quotations in the Church Fathers has its limitations. Most of the quotations are short, some important New Testament passages are never quoted, and it is not known whether a given writer quoted from memory or actually copied. It is therefore misleading to declare every variant found in the Fathers to be an important witness for a certain textual type. It should also be remembered that the manuscripts containing the works of the Fathers have had their own history of transmission, and may not always faithfully represent the original writings.

For a discussion of the history of the printed Greek New Testament text and of textual criticism see pp. 140–146.

III. History of the New Testament Canon

In regard to the meaning of the word *canon*, and its use as technical term to designate the collection of sacred books of the Old and New Testaments, see Vol. I, p. 36.

Although the roots of canon formation go back to the apostolic age, a uniform recognition of all New Testament books throughout Christendom was not achieved for several centuries.

It may be said at the outset that the New Testament canon came into being neither by a papal decree nor by the decision of an ecumenical church council. Neither was it the result of a miracle, although this claim is made in the following legendary story: The delegates to the Council of Nicaea, desirous to know which books were canonical and which not, are said to have placed under the communion table all books for which a place in the canon was claimed. Then they prayed that the Lord would show them which books were canonical by miraculously placing them on top of the stack. According to the story, this miracle happened during the prayer, and thus the New Testament canon was established. This story, which is of obscure origin, has not the slightest credibility.

Holy Scriptures in the Early Church.—The collection of sacred writings in the New Testament found its prototype in the canon of the Old Testament. Throughout the Greek-speaking world, the LXX, the Bible (Old Testament) of the Jewish dispersion, became the Bible of Christendom. With it Christians accepted the Jewish doctrine of divine inspiration, so that in the books of the Old Testament they did not see the words of Samuel, David, or Isaiah merely, but rather the Word of God, the product of a divine spirit and wisdom. Since the Christians believed that the Jews, by their rejection of Christ, had lost their privileges and had been rejected by God (see Vol. IV, pp. 30–33), the Christian church considered itself the only rightful owner and interpreter of this Word of God. The Old Testament contained prophecies pointing to Christ and also many glorious promises for the true people of God, whom the Christians believed themselves to be. All of this made the Old Testament dear to the early church.

Besides the Old Testament the early church possessed the “Words of the Lord” as received from Jesus Himself or from the apostles, who had been eye-witnesses. The church considered the words and prophecies of Jesus as on the same inspired level as the sayings of the Old Testament. Thus Paul could quote the Pentateuch as “scripture” (1 Tim. 5:18; cf. Deut. 25:4) and couple with it a statement of Jesus (Luke 10:7). It was only natural that as the apostles carried the gospel throughout the world, many of the Lord’s words and much reminiscence about Him circulated orally. An evidence of this is the instance where Paul, in speaking to the elders of Ephesus, used a saying of Jesus that

appears nowhere in the Gospels (Acts 20:35). That oral tradition concerning the words of Jesus existed into the 2d century is demonstrated by Eusebius' account (*Ecclesiastical History* iii. 39. 2–4) of the interest displayed in them by Papias (first third of 2d century).

At the same time, however, certain initial steps in the formation of the New Testament canon are recognizable in the earliest Christian period. Already during the first generation of Christians there appeared written records of the life of Christ. Luke, in the prologue to his Gospel (ch. 1:1–4), testifies that several works describing the life and teachings of Jesus existed in his time. He goes on to assure his readers that he tells his story in reliable form.

It can be assumed that the majority of churches possessed the written Gospel before the end of the 1st century. The acquaintance of the early Church Fathers with these writings is apparent from their quotations of them. The word “gospel” appears in the New Testament only as a singular term designating the glad tidings of Jesus. Justin Martyr, about A.D. 150, was the first to employ the plural form, “The Gospels” (Gr. *ta euaggelia*), as a designation for the written accounts of Jesus' life. Gradually the phrase, “It is written,” used generally for quotations from the Old Testament, was applied also to sayings of the Lord. The first appearance of such a usage is in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch.4), written before A.D. 150. The so-called Second Epistle of Clement, from about the same date, speaks of the teaching of the “Books and the Apostles” concerning the church (ch. 14; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9, p. 255), a reference that may include the Gospels with the Old Testament as the “Books,” and that certainly demonstrates the status the epistles had attained by this time.

Besides the Gospels, other Christian works circulated in the early church. Among these the epistles of the apostle Paul took first place. Paul wrote usually to meet specific problems in certain localities. At the same time, however, he encouraged the distribution of his letters, as is evident from his request that the Colossians (Col. 4:16) and the Laodiceans exchange his letters. It can be taken for granted that before passing on its letter to another congregation, a church usually would make a copy. It was probably in this way that Paul's letters first were copied, and that collections of these copies grew. That such collections existed already in the apostolic age is intimated by Peter (2 Peter 3:15, 16), probably about A.D. 65. Similarly, Clement of Rome, writing to the church at Corinth 30 years later, could admonish them, “Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul” written to them (I Clement, ch. 47; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9, p. 243). The fact that Clement goes on to refer to the content of 1 Corinthians would seem to indicate not only that this epistle had been preserved at Corinth, but also that Clement had a copy available at Rome.

Other witnesses for the early distribution of Paul's writings are Ignatius and Polycarp, both of whom wrote in the first half of the 2d century. About A.D. 117 Ignatius wrote from Smyrna to the Ephesians that Paul “in all his Epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus” (*Ignatius to the Ephesians*, ch. 12; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 55). Probably toward the middle of the 2d century Polycarp wrote to the Philippians concerning Paul that “when absent from you, he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith which has been given you” (*Polycarp to the Philippians*, ch. 3; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 33). Elsewhere in the same epistle (ch. 12) Polycarp quotes Paul (Eph. 4:26) as “scripture.” These statements clearly indicate that both Ignatius and Polycarp were well

acquainted with at least two of Paul's letters, and that they expected the churches likewise to know them. Therefore it seems most probable that a collection of Paul's epistles must have had wide distribution only a few decades after his death.

Other epistles besides those of Paul also must have come into circulation very early. Peter had addressed his first letter to the Christians of five provinces of Asia Minor, and had thus clearly given it the character of a circular letter. James had the same aim in addressing his epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." John addressed the Revelation to seven churches in the Roman province of Asia, and specifically claimed divine inspiration for it (chs. 1:1–3; 22:18, 19). It is only reasonable to conclude that these books quickly found a wide circulation.

From these evidences it is obvious that books originating in the time of the apostles that either recounted the life of Christ or contained important messages of apostles were highly valued by the church and were considered authoritative.

Development of the New Testament Canon, A.D. 140–180.—The first man to establish a canon was the heretic Marcion about the middle of the 2d century. He was a thorough anti-Semitist who held that Jehovah in the Old Testament was the Jewish God of wrath and justice, and that He had nothing in common with the Christian God of love. Marcion claimed to be a true interpreter of the Christian theology of Paul, and being an excellent organizer, he fixed for his own sectarian church a Bible canon that conformed to his ideas. He eliminated entirely the Old Testament and also certain books of the apostolic age. Consequently his Bible consisted only of the Gospel of Luke, the writings of the apostle Paul, and a book of his own, called the *Antithesis*, in which he presented his arguments for rejecting the Old Testament. His collection of Paul's epistles, called the *Apostolikon*, consisted of ten letters of Paul: Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, Romans, First and Second Thessalonians, "Laodiceans" (Ephesians), Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. He rejected 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews, and also changed the text of those books that he accepted, to agree with his theology.

Marcion's activity forced the church to take a stand with regard to what books could justly claim the status of Scripture. Unfortunately few sources are available that clearly show how the Christian church acted in regard to this matter in the middle of the 2d century. A clear picture of the New Testament canon does not emerge until about A.D. 200. The meager sources that are available on this subject from the period under consideration are the following.

Justin Martyr, a contemporary of Marcion, wrote several works at Rome about A.D. 150, in which he treated the Gospels as Holy Scripture on a par with the Old Testament. Describing the Christian church service, he says that in their gatherings Christians read the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets (that is, the Old Testament) before the sermon (*First Apology*, ch. 67). Writing for pagan readers, Justin used a literary word, *apomnēmoneumata*, "memoirs," to refer to the Gospels, as he explains in the preceding passage (*ibid.*, ch. 66). In mentioning the Gospels before the Old Testament in describing Christian Scripture reading, he indicates that the church accorded the Gospels a position at least as high as that of the Old Testament. Justin also declares (*Dialogue*, ch. 103) that the Gospels had been composed by the apostles or the disciples of the apostles. He sometimes introduces quotations from the Gospels with some such formula as, "Christ has said" (*ibid.*, chs. 49; 105), and sometimes with the phrase, "It is written" (*ibid.* chs. 49; 100; 107).

While it has been debated how many Gospels Justin knew, the evidence is strong that he used all four of them. Some of his quotations are not found in the exact form in which they appear in the canonical Gospels, and may have been taken from extra-Biblical sources. Since about the same time 2 Clement uses sayings of Jesus not found in the canonical Gospels (chs. 4; 5; 12), it would not be surprising to find Justin doing the same. Justin's writings reflect acquaintance not only with the Gospels but also with Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, and Acts. He quotes the Revelation between a statement from the Old Testament and a saying of the Lord (*Dialogue*, ch. 81).

Tatian, a pupil of Justin, made a harmony of the four canonical Gospels, which would seem to indicate that he considered these books as apart from apocryphal works. This harmony, known as the Diatessaron (literally, "Through four"), appears to have been the standard form in which the gospel story circulated in the Syriac-speaking church for some two centuries. See p. 122.

Theophilus of Antioch (died c. A.D. 181) puts the Gospels on a level with the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and declares that they were written by *pneumatophoroi*, "spirit-bearing [men]" (*To Autolycus* ii. 22; iii. 12).

That the book of Revelation was highly valued at this time is indicated by Justin Martyr (*Dialogue* ch. 81), Theophilus (Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* iv. 24), and Apollonius (Eusebius *ibid.* v. 18).

New Testament Canon at End of 2d Century.—The existence of a canon, in the sense of a generally recognized group of books constituting the New Testament, becomes apparent near the end of the 2d century. Witnesses to such a canon are extant from various parts of the Roman world. From Rome itself comes a document called the Muratorian Fragment; from Gaul, the testimony of Irenaeus of Lyons; from Africa, Tertullian of Carthage; and from Egypt, Clement of Alexandria. The earliest known systematic list of New Testament books is the Muratorian Fragment, named after its discoverer, L. A. Muratori, who found it in the library of a monastery at Milan in 1740. The beginning and end of the document are missing, and its Latin is barbarous and poorly spelled. Scholars generally have concluded that this fragment originally was written in Rome toward the end of the 2d century. It furnishes a list of books that might be read publicly in church, and also mentions several books that should not be read.

In the missing portion at the beginning of the Muratorian Fragment there was evidently a remark about Matthew; this was followed by a notation on Mark, of which only one line is preserved. Since Luke is called the third, and John the fourth Gospel, there is no doubt that Matthew headed the list. The Acts of the Apostles come next, and following them the epistles in this order: 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Romans, Philemon, Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy. He also includes Jude and 1 and 2 John. Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and 3 John are omitted. Certain other books are either called in question or rejected outright. Thus of the Apocalypse of Peter (not to be confused with the epistles of Peter), the Fragment declares that although some accepted it, others thought it should not be read in church. The epistles to the Laodiceans and Alexandrians and the Shepherd of Hermas are denied a place in the canon at all. Concerning Revelation, the Fragment states that although John wrote to the seven churches, he spoke to all.

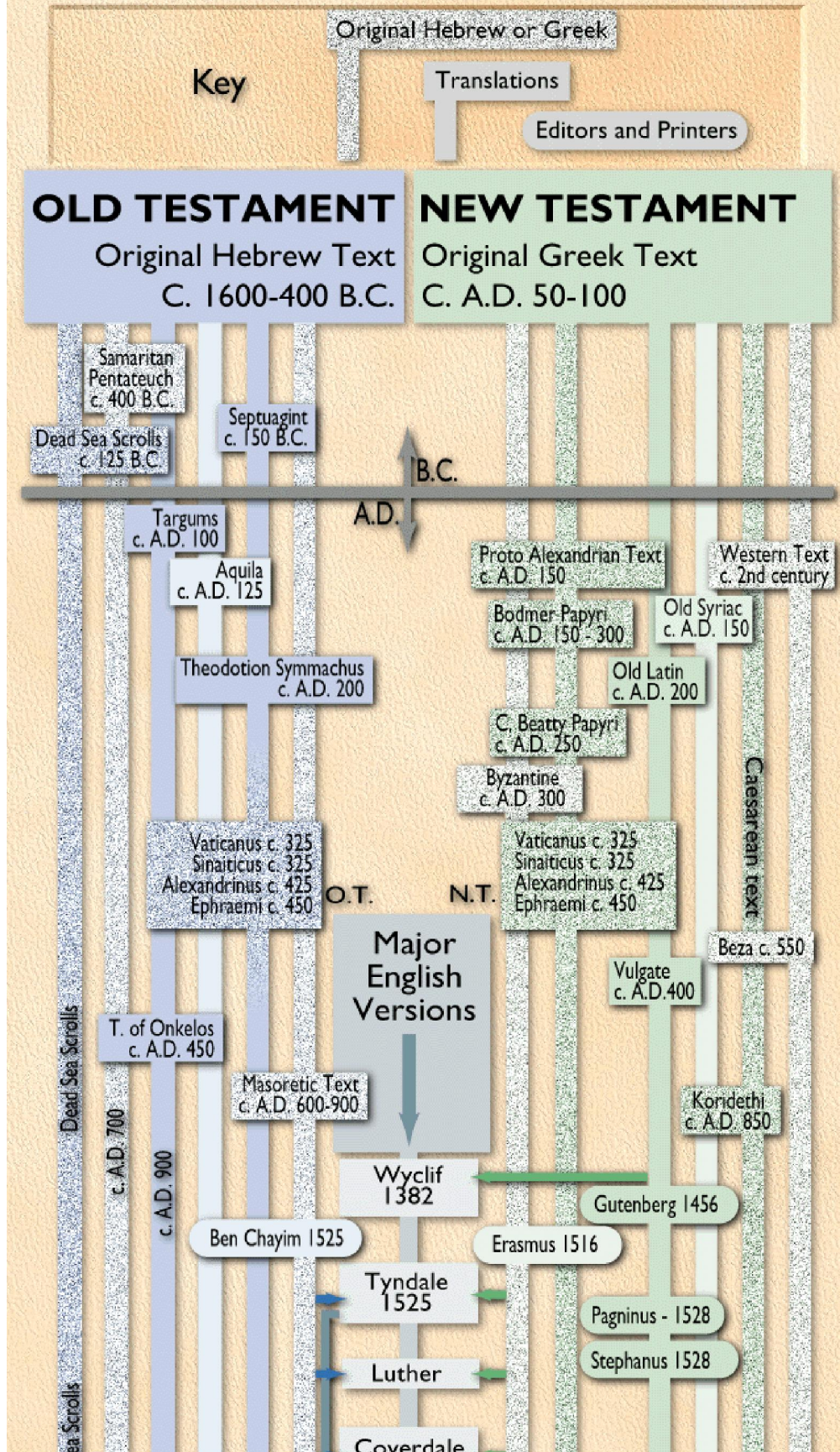
Irenaeus' New Testament canon can easily be reconstructed on the basis of his numerous Biblical quotations. He recognized the four Gospels as the only canonical ones and characterized them as the four pillars of the church (*Against Heresies* iii. 11. 8). He also accepted 13 epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, Acts, and Revelation. Irenaeus does not quote from Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter, and they may have been absent from his collection of New Testament books. Neither does he mention 3 John and Jude, but this may have been accidental, since both are very short. On the other hand, Irenaeus apparently considered the Shepherd of Hermas to be canonical, as he introduces a quotation from that work with the words, "The Scripture declared" (*ibid.* iv. 20.2).

A study of Tertullian's writings reveals much the same picture with regard to his New Testament canon. Although he quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews, he did not consider it to be canonical, thinking that it had been written by Barnabas (*On Modesty* ch. 20). Tertullian accepted the Shepherd of Hermas during his earlier years, but rejected it later.

Clement of Alexandria, a representative of the Eastern Church, showed a more liberal attitude toward sacred writings than was common in the West. Besides the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, he used also—although as somewhat lesser authorities—the apocryphal gospels of the Hebrews and the Egyptians. His New Testament canon contained also 14 books of Paul, including Hebrews, which the Eastern Church accepted as Pauline without hesitation, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, Jude, Acts, and Revelation, as well as the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and other noncanonical writings. Whether he knew James, 3 John, and 2 Peter is not certain. Clement's writings clearly show that books already rejected in the Western Church as noncanonical were still used without scruple in the East. A clear distinction between the apostolic and the nonapostolic writings was made at this time only in the West.

⁷Nichol, F. D. (1978). *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary : The Holy Bible with exegetical and expository comment*. Commentary Reference Series (Mt 1:1). Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association.

Major English Translations and their Antecedents



study of the principal witnesses to the New Testament canon at the end of the 2d century shows that the four Gospels, 13 epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, Jude, Acts, and Revelation were generally recognized as canonical. While some in the West still doubted James, 2 Peter, 3 John, and Hebrews there were those in the East who felt free to use certain apocryphal writings as authentic.

This brief survey of the evidence shows that the New Testament canon during the 2d century did not develop so much through a process of collecting apostolic writings as through a process of rejecting those whose apostolic origin was not established. In the course of the first hundred years of the Christian church many books had been written. Every Christian sect and province had produced writings, especially so-called Gospels. These were copied and distributed, with the result that the body of Christian literature grew to formidable size. It was soon noticed that gall had been mixed with honey, to use an expression of the Muratorian Fragment that describes works that claimed apostolic origin yet propounded Gnostic teaching. A clear stand regarding these spurious books became necessary.

A trend in the opposite direction, which intensified the need for a canon, was emphasized by the heretic Marcion. In order to have support for his anti-Jewish teachings, he rejected not only all spurious works but also several books of undisputedly apostolic origin. His rejection of such genuinely apostolic works, together with the widespread use of nonapostolic writings, forced Christians to decide what to accept and what to reject.

One principle that Christians adopted in determining the validity of a book was the status of the author. Whatever was not clearly of apostolic origin, they rejected. The only exceptions made were the works of Mark and Luke, who were the associates of venerated apostles. Another basis of canonicity was the contents of books for which a place was claimed in the New Testament. Even books purporting to be of apostolic origin were rejected when they were found to contain Gnostic elements. One example of such works is the so-called Gospel of Peter.

Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* vi. 12) records an incident that illustrates how church leaders gave counsel in the choice of a canon. About A.D. 200 the church at Rhodus, near Antioch, seems to have been divided over the use of the Gospel of Peter. The church members there submitted their dispute to Serapion, bishop of Antioch. He was not familiar with this work, and thinking that all the Christians at Rhodus were orthodox, he allowed its use. Later, however, when he became aware of the Gnostic character of this gospel, he wrote a letter to Rhodus and retracted the permit he previously had given. It is most interesting to note that a bishop allowed a book unknown to him to be read in church, apparently because it carried an apostle's name as author, but that he prohibited it as soon as he recognized by its contents its spurious character and authorship. Similar cases may frequently have occurred, although no further records of such decisions have been preserved.

Canon After A.D. 200 in the East.—The first evidence after A.D. 200 concerning the New Testament canon in the East comes from Origen (died c. A.D. 254). He observed that differences existed among the various churches in regard to the content of the New Testament, and he differentiated between generally recognized writings and contested ones. Eusebius presents a record of Origen's views (*ibid.* vi. 25), according to which the four Gospels, the epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Revelation were generally

accepted. Although Eusebius seems to have forgotten it, Acts should be added, because Origen clearly shows that he considered it as belonging to the same group. According to Eusebius' testimony, Origen lists as still contested 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John, and Hebrews. That he also placed Jude in this category is apparent from his own remarks (*Commentaria in Matthaeum*, Tomus XVII. 30). Although the Shepherd of Hermas, Barnabas, and the Didache stood on the borders of the canon, Origen was convinced that they were not apostolic.

A controversy over the Revelation took place in the Eastern Church during the 3d century. Orthodox Christians had not previously questioned the authenticity of this book. They had always accepted it as inspired and apostolic. Origen had expressed no doubts about the authority of Revelation, but his followers attacked it vehemently. Particularly notable in this regard was Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (died c. A.D. 265), who wrote a treatise in which he sought to disprove the apostolic authorship of the book. The Alexandrian theologians seem to have turned against the Revelation because its vivid picture of the reality of the judgment and the heavenly kingdom did not agree with their allegorical and spiritualized theology. As a result of this controversy, the faith of many Christians in the book of Revelation was shaken, and for more than a century the Eastern Church was not sure whether the book was acceptable or not.

By the time Christianity was legalized in the Roman Empire (A.D. 313), the line of demarcation between recognized and rejected books already had been drawn. Thus Eusebius, writing about A.D. 325 (*ibid.* iii. 25, Loeb ed., vol. I, pp. 257, 259), divided into three classes the New Testament books claiming canonicity. His first class consisted of the "Recognized Books": the four Gospels, Acts, 14 epistles of Paul (including Hebrews), 1 John, 1 Peter, and Revelation. His second class was made up of "Disputed Books," which he divided again into those that were "known to most" Christians: James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and works that were "not genuine": the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Didache. In his third class Eusebius placed "altogether wicked and impious" writings, such as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias.

Eusebius' discussion reveals clearly that Christians definitely had separated the chaff from the wheat of New Testament scripture before Christianity became a recognized state religion early in the 4th century. The books he classifies as "Recognized Books" and "Disputed Books which are nevertheless known to most" are the same 27 New Testament books recognized as canonical by all Christians today. All others he rejected.

An important factor in settling the question of the canon in the Greek Church was the declaration of Athanasius of Alexandria, in his 39th Festal Letter (A.D. 367). As the leading man of his time, Athanasius told his bishops and their people that the canon of the New Testament consists of 27 books. He made no criticism of any book, nor any differentiation between books. Of all the apocryphal works, he mentioned only the Didache and the Shepherd, and stated that although these two books do not belong to the canon, they might be used for the edification of candidates in baptismal classes.

Although Athanasius' directives were binding legally only in Egypt where he was the recognized spiritual leader, yet his personality was so strong that the whole Greek-speaking church was influenced by his verdict. Although some theologians of the East rejected Revelation as late as the 5th century, his canon of 27 books came to be the recognized standard.

The formation of the canon experienced a different course in the Syriac-speaking church, which lay east of the imperial Roman borders in the area of the Upper Euphrates, Mesopotamia, and Persia. During the 2d century, Christianity took strong root in this area, and the Gospels probably were translated into Syriac before A.D. 200, as is indicated by the Curetonian and Sinaitic Gospel manuscripts (see p. 122). However, these Gospels seem to have been used much less than the Diatessaron, the Gospel harmony prepared by Tatian probably a few years earlier. During the 3d and 4th centuries the Syrian church knew the Gospel almost exclusively in this latter form. In the 5th century, leaders of the Syrian church, such as Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Rabbula of Edessa, made strong efforts to eliminate the Diatessaron in favor of “the Gospel of the Separated,” as the four individual Gospels were called.

Little is known concerning the early use of other New Testament books among the Syrians. From the *Doctrina Addai*, written about A.D. 350, it appears that the epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles were in use in the Syriac-speaking churches along with the Old Testament and the Diatessaron. However, it is not known how early the Syrian churches had become acquainted with these books, or whether they had the general epistles and the book of Revelation. A list of New Testament books in Syriac from the 3d century found in the monastery at Mt. Sinai lists only the four Gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of Paul, including Hebrews.

A new Syriac translation, the Peshitta (see p. 122), appeared with strong ecclesiastical support in the early 5th century. It replaced the Diatessaron with the four Separate Gospels, and contained also the Acts, 14 epistles of Paul, and 1 Peter, 1 John, and James. Thus the Syriac New Testament canon consisted of 22 books, and so remained for many years. As a result of the Christological controversies of the 5th century, some elements of Syriac-speaking Christianity, under pressure from the West, accepted the canon of 27 books, while others retained only the 22.

Canon After A.D. 200 in the West.—The testimony of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and the Muratorian Fragment shows that at the turn of the 3d century, the New Testament canon had reached a rather fixed form in the West. The four Gospels, the Acts, 13 epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, Revelation, and perhaps also 2 John and Jude were generally recognized as belonging to the canon. Second Peter, James, 3 John, and Hebrews had not yet achieved this recognition, although some apocryphal works were still at times accepted. The history of the canon after A.D. 200 therefore involves chiefly the acceptance of three general epistles and Hebrews, and the rejection of some questionable apocrypha.

The Western Church did not have so many notable scholars as the East, but its church discipline was stronger, and consequently the development of the canon in the West did not involve as much vacillation as in the East. The Western Church finally followed the East in accepting Hebrews, while at the same time it strongly defended the Revelation, a book the East did not favor during the 3d century and part of the 4th. Finally, the Greek theologians reversed their attitude and accepted Revelation into their canon.

The general epistles still were little used in the Latin Church during the whole 3d century. Quotations from these books hardly ever appear in the Latin Fathers of this period, and when they do, they are taken from 1 John and 1 Peter. In the 4th century, however, the general epistles received wide acceptance. Two canon lists witness to this. One, a list discovered by Theodor Mommsen, probably from Africa, lists five general

epistles: three letters of John, two letters of Peter. However, a later hand has added to one of the two extant copies of this canon the remark, *una sola*, “one only,” to both entries, perhaps indicating that while the original author of this list reckoned three letters of John and two of Peter as canonical, a later reader voiced his opposition to this view. The second canon list from the 4th century is the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, found between Philemon and Hebrews in the uncial manuscript D at Paris. It lists all seven general epistles in the following sequence: 1 and 2 Peter, James, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude.

The final decision concerning the New Testament canon was taken by the Latin Church in A.D. 382, when the Synod of Rome, under Pope Damasus, decreed officially that the seven general epistles form an integral part of the New Testament. This decree attributed the First Epistle of John to the apostle and the other two to another John, supposed to have been a presbyter. The church of North Africa followed suit, when during the council of Hippo (A.D. 393) and the 3d council of Carthage (A.D. 397) decrees were voted similar to that made at Rome in A.D. 382.

The Epistle to the Hebrews likewise did not find complete acceptance in the Western Church until the second half of the 4th century. The main reason for this lay in its disputed authorship. The Latin Fathers of the 3d and 4th centuries either did not mention Hebrews or rejected its Pauline authorship. Consequently it is also absent from the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, unless it is indicated there under the entry “Epistle of Barnabas,” which is possible, but improbable. However, the great Latin theologians and ecclesiastical leaders of the latter part of the 4th century stood strongly under the influence of the Greek theology of the East, where the Pauline authorship of Hebrews had never been doubted. Hence, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, Vigilius of Thapsus, Ambrose, Augustine, and other Western leaders began to accept Hebrews as canonical. This trend was legalized at the Synod of Rome in A.D. 382, which declared the canon to possess 14 letters of Paul. The subsequent African councils of Hippo and Carthage also accepted Hebrews as Pauline. Augustine, in his New Testament canon, as presented in his work *De doctrina christiana* (II. 8, 12–14), does not vary in any way from the canon of Athanasius of Alexandria contained in his 39th Easter Letter (see p. 129). From this time on the Latin and Greek churches had the same New Testament canon of 27 books.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament were rejected earlier and more resolutely in the Western Church than among the Christians of the East. By A.D. 200 a clear stand was taken in the West with regard to books whose apostolic origin was questionable, as is attested by Tertullian and the Muratorian Fragment, while at the same time some of these same books were used by Clement of Alexandria with no scruples. Apocryphal books were still part of the Eastern Church literature in the 3d and 4th centuries as Origen’s and Eusebius’ works testify. At that time these books were unanimously rejected by the Latin Church Fathers. However, later Bible manuscripts reveal that in some circles apocryphal books remained in use until the Middle Ages. Twenty of these manuscripts are known to contain a Latin translation of the Shepherd of Hermas, and more than 100 of them have the so-called Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.

It is a remarkable fact that not one of the ecumenical church councils of the early centuries attempted to fix the canon. The first ecumenical council (though recognized as such only by the Roman Catholic Church) to deal with the canon was the Council of Trent (1545–64), which for the first time established by decree a canon of Scripture

binding upon all members of the Catholic Church. Although earlier councils had dealt with the canon, as mentioned, they were not ecumenical, and had jurisdiction only over certain ecclesiastical provinces.

A study of the development of the New Testament canon provides convincing evidence that the hand of Providence led in the formation of God's written Word. As has been seen in the foregoing survey, the decisions that brought into being the canon of 27 books were not essentially the work of an organized church expressing its will through either a pope or a general council. Rather, the canon of Scripture developed gradually over a period of some four centuries as many Christian men under the guidance of the Spirit of God recognized that certain works had been inspired by that same Spirit, and that other works had not.

In this divinely directed work of selection, certain standards aided the early Christians in deciding which books merited a place in Scripture and which did not. One of these standards was authorship. The New Testament was the good news concerning Jesus Christ, and Christians naturally believed that the most authentic presentations of this message were those written by men who had been with Jesus. Consequently only those works were accepted finally concerning which Christians were clearly convinced that they were the products of an apostle or of a companion of an apostle writing in the apostolic period. Thus the books of Mark and Luke were admitted because every Christian was convinced that they had been written in the time of the apostles Peter and Paul, and perhaps under their supervision. On the other hand, the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, although widely accepted in the 2d century, was ultimately dropped from the canon because its contents showed that it could not have been written by that apostle. Similarly, the Shepherd of Hermas, a book favored by some early Christians, did not finally achieve a place in the canon because it originated in the postapostolic period.

Another standard which guided the early church in the selection of the canon was that of content. This sometimes involved more subtle judgment than did the question of authorship. It necessitated the evaluation of a book in terms of its inner consistency, its agreement with the rest of Scripture, and its conformity with Christian experience. It was doubtless largely by this principle that the early Christians rejected the many Gnostic gospels and apocalypses.

Essential to the successful accomplishment of all of this was the guidance of the Spirit of God, the Spirit who led the minds of the prophets and apostles as they wrote, and who has brought conviction to the heart of every true believer in Jesus Christ, as he has read the Scripture, that it is truly the Word of God.

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“Lower” and “Higher” Biblical Criticism

PART I: LOWER CRITICISM

I. Introduction

THE criticism of the Bible may be divided into what historically has been termed “lower” and “higher” criticism. In the broadest sense, lower criticism deals with both the language (vocabulary, grammar, syntax) and the history of the transmission of the text, including the attempt to restore the reading of the original autographs. As used in the present article, however, the expression “lower criticism” is confined to the study of the Biblical text, and thus is equivalent to the more precise term, “textual criticism.” It involves the study and comparison of extant manuscripts, the determination of their historical and geographical interrelationships, and, most important of all, the development and application of criteria and techniques for restoring as nearly as possible the original wording of the text of the Bible. The necessity for such a study rests on two well-known facts regarding the transmission of the text of the sacred writings: (1) The disappearance of the autographs of all the books of the Bible. (2) The separate production of every copy of every book, laboriously, by hand, before the invention of printing in the middle of the 15th century. The copies of the autographs became in turn the exemplars for other copies, which, in turn, became the exemplars of other copies. During this process of repeated copying and recopying, transcriptional errors inevitably came into the Sacred Text. The introduction of scribal errors raises a serious question for the Bible student: where variants occur, that is, where the manuscripts read more than one way in a given passage, which reading is the correct one? Which reading did the lost autograph contain? This is

the question that textual scholars try to answer. They seek to provide Bible students with as accurate a text as present-day scholarship can produce.

II. Textual Criticism of the Old Testament

Materials.—Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls in 1947 and subsequently the textual criticism of the Old Testament was seriously hampered by the scarcity of comparative source material. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts known dated from the 9th to the beginning of the 11th centuries A.D. The most widely used edition of the Hebrew Bible, the third edition of Rudolf Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, is based on the Leningrad Codex B19a, completed in A.D. 1008. In the new 1978 edition of this Bible, known as *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by Karl Elliger, the critical apparatus was thoroughly revised and updated by the inclusion of evidence from the Dead Sea scrolls, et cetera, but the Hebrew text is still largely a reproduction of Codex Leningradensis. This codex is one of several important Hebrew manuscripts associated with the ben Asher family, a famous Jewish family of Masoretic scholars in Tiberias for five generations. The Masoretes were the custodians of the traditional Hebrew text from the 6th to the 11th centuries A.D. They invented a system of vocalization for the Hebrew text, which had heretofore been written without vowels, and established rules for a faithful transmission of the Bible text as it existed in their day (see Vol. I, p. 34). The standard Hebrew text of the Old Testament is therefore known as the Masoretic Text (MT).

Four other Hebrew manuscripts containing the ben Asher text are extant. The earliest of these is the Cairo Codex of the Former and Latter Prophets, written by Moses ben Asher and dated A.D. 895. The Leningrad Codex of the Latter Prophets is dated A.D. 916. The British Museum Codex (Oriental 4445) is an incomplete manuscript of the Pentateuch, dated A.D. 950. The famous Aleppo Codex, originally containing the entire Old Testament but now partially destroyed, is considered to be the most accurate of all. This codex, which was corrected and punctuated by Aaron ben Asher in A.D. 930, is the chief authority for a new edition of the Hebrew Bible being published in Jerusalem.

These manuscripts represent the acme of the work of the Hebrew scribes. But they are many centuries removed from the time of the original authors of the Hebrew Bible. Why are the Hebrew manuscripts so comparatively late? Two major explanations for this phenomenon can be given. In the first place the ravages of war and persecution threatened the very survival of these ancient documents.

A second reason is the well-established Jewish custom of burying old worn-out manuscripts to protect the name of God from desecration. They were first hidden away in a room attached to the synagogue, perhaps in the cellar or attic, known as a Geniza (i.e., "hiding place"). When the Geniza was full, the manuscripts were removed and, with an elaborate ceremony, buried. The forces of nature were thus allowed to destroy them; hence, few early Hebrew manuscripts have been found.

But in spite of the comparative lateness of the extant Hebrew manuscripts, there are grounds for confidence that they represent accurately the substantial wording of the Hebrew Scriptures as they were penned by the original authors. This confidence rests, in the first place, on the extreme care with which the Hebrew scribes did their work. They devised methods which ensured, so far as it is humanly possible, the accuracy of their work. They prescribed: "An authentic copy must be the exemplar, from which the transcriber ought not in the least to deviate. No word or letter, not even a *Yod*, must be

written from memory, the scribe not having looked at the codex before him.”—A. B. Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 89.

The *Samaritan Pentateuch* is a source available to the textual scholar for a comparison with the traditional text of the Hebrew manuscripts. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a separate recension of the Hebrew text, written in a modified form of the old Semitic alphabet, and transmitted separately from the standardized Hebrew text of the Jews. It is therefore useful as a check on the possible transcriptional errors that have crept into the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch through its numerous copyings. Its value for this purpose, however, is qualified by the obscurity of the history of its origin and transmission, and by the lateness of the Samaritan manuscripts representing it, none of which are earlier than the 10th century A.D..

The Septuagint. The oldest and most important of the ancient versions of the Old Testament is the old Greek translation known as the Septuagint. The name is derived from *septuaginta*, the Latin word for seventy, and hence is frequently designated by the Roman numeral LXX. The name is derived from the tradition set forth in the Letter of Aristeas that it was produced by 70 or 72 Jewish translators, in 72 days. Strictly speaking, the name applies to the Pentateuch, which was probably produced in the 3d century B.C. to meet the religious needs of the large number of Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. In the time of Origen (A.D. 186–253/4) the name “Septuagint” was used, as it is today, for the whole Greek Old Testament, which was completed about the 2d century B.C.

Two facts will illustrate the importance of the Septuagint for textual criticism. The first is the age of the manuscripts extant. Apart from the Dead Sea scrolls and the Nash Papyrus, the extant manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament are substantially older than the Hebrew manuscripts on which the Hebrew Bible is based. The second fact is of more significance: the Septuagint was produced before the Hebrew text was standardized about the 1st century A.D. Hence that version is an important aid in restoring a text that existed before the Masoretes did their work.

But the use of the old Greek version for textual study is not without its problems and limitations. The quality of the translation varies from the slavishly literal to the paraphrastic. When the version shows a different reading than that found in the Hebrew Bible, it must be determined whether the divergence is a result of a free paraphrase or a different reading in the underlying Hebrew. If it is the latter, it must then be determined whether the reading represented by the version is superior to that found in the Masoretic text.

In the 2d century A.D., three rival Greek translations were produced: Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. These, together with the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters and in Greek transliteration, plus the LXX, constituted the six columns of Origen’s *Hexapla*, a sixfold edition of the Old Testament.

The Syriac Peshitta. Christians had a translation of the Old Testament in the Syriac language before the 3d century A.D. Although this translation has been in Christian hands as far back as it can be traced, it shows such strong Jewish influences that some scholars have advocated that much of it must have come from Jewish hands. Others have explained this reflection of Judaism as a result of Jewish-Christian origin. Whatever explanation is given the phenomenon, there are passages that are little more than transliterations of western Aramaic into the Syriac script. This version, known as the “Peshitta” (i.e., “simple”), shows the effects of later revision on the basis of the

Septuagint. There are manuscripts of the version as early as the 5th century A.D., but for the textual criticism the Peshitta of the Old Testament must be used with caution. Its text agrees in the main with the Masoretic text. When the Peshitta and the Septuagint agree against the Hebrew, the possibility must be entertained that the Syriac was revised at that point by the use of the Greek, and the former may not therefore be an independent witness.

The Latin Vulgate. The Vulgate was produced by Jerome in response to the appeal of Pope Damasus that he revise the Latin manuscripts of the Bible. He spent several years, beginning about A.D. 389 and finishing about 405, in making a new translation of the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew. His translation, which became known as the Vulgate, meaning “common” or “popular,” is the official Latin version of the Bible. Jerome strove for fidelity to the Hebrew text of his time; nevertheless, for the purposes of textual criticism, the Vulgate has several disadvantages. One is the freedom Jerome exercised in translating. It was his studied purpose to give a rendering in idiomatic and graceful Latin rather than to translate literally. Hence it is often difficult to determine with precision the underlying Hebrew text. Another is the fact that the version was made after the Hebrew text had been standardized. Hence when the underlying text can be determined, it is usually in agreement with the Hebrew we have today. In cases where it differs, it must be recognized that the text was often influenced either directly or indirectly by the Septuagint.

The Aramaic Targums. As these have come down to us, they are a combination of real translation with free paraphrase and the addition of explanatory material. The official Targum of the Pentateuch, Targum Onkelos, probably originated in Palestine but attained its written form in Babylon in the 5th century A.D. It is, for the most part, a simple and strictly literal translation. The Hebrew text on which it is based is essentially like the Masoretic text. There are two other Jewish Targums on the Pentateuch, both from Palestine. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan is based on Onkelos, with patches of older and more fulsome materials from Palestine. The Jerusalem Targum (formerly spoken of as the Fragmentary Targum) circulated as late as the 10th century in Palestine. In 1957 a complete copy of it was identified in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Neofati I). It is written in first-century Aramaic, thought to resemble the language Jesus and the apostles knew. Its underlying Hebrew text must have differed at times from the Masoretic text. The official Targum of the Prophets bears the name of Jonathan ben Uzziel. It paraphrases more freely than does Onkelos.

The generally late date of most of the written Targums, their paraphrastic and homiletic tendencies, and their introduction of explanations and alterations, militate against their free use in textual criticism. However, when they are used critically and carefully, they have considerable value.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. The sensational discovery of the now—famous Dead Sea scrolls in 1947, and subsequently (see Vol. I, pp. 31-34), revolutionized the textual criticism of the Old Testament. At that time no Old Testament scholar had the slightest hope that Hebrew Bible manuscripts antedating the period of the Masoretes would ever be found. Hence when the first group of scrolls came to light, many scholars were slow in believing that they were genuine, or, if genuine, that they were as old as they appeared to be.

Subsequent discoveries, however, have furnished incontestable evidence, both archeological and paleographical, that at long last Hebrew texts many centuries older than those previously known are indeed available. Tens of thousands of fragments of manuscripts, both Biblical and secular, were found in the other caves that clustered about Khirbet Qumran. The greatest cache came from Cave 4, discovered in 1952. It contained thousands of fragments of some 480 scrolls, of which 100 were Biblical, representing every book in the Hebrew Bible except Esther. The excavation of the ruins of Khirbet Qumran during several campaigns, beginning in 1951, brought to light the community center of a Jewish religious sect, the Essenes, and clearly demonstrated its connection with the discoveries in the caves. The huge caves in the *Wādī Murabba 'āt*, some twelve miles southwest of Qumran, produced documents left behind by the Jews who participated in the Bar Cochba revolt of A.D. 132–135, some of which were dated. Among the Biblical materials discovered was a scroll of the Minor Prophets (from Joel to the beginning of Zechariah), dating from the 2d century A.D.

The Qumran scrolls of the Hebrew Bible take us back to a period before the Biblical text was standardized, about the latter part of the 1st century A.D. Nevertheless, most of them are in substantial agreement with the wording of the Hebrew Bible that has been handed down through the Masoretes. The Dead Sea scrolls, then, are a reassuring testimony to the general accuracy of the transmission of the Hebrew text. The study of these documents has convinced scholars that the sacred text should be treated with far greater respect than it had received in the scholarly world during the preceding two centuries.

The great Isaiah scroll (1QIs), found in Cave 1, contains thousands of variations from the Masoretic text, but the vast majority of these make no difference in the meaning. They are in the nature of deviations in spelling, grammatical forms, and endings. Among the variants that are significant in meaning, the majority appear to be a result of manifest errors in copying. The scroll was not written with the painstaking accuracy of the professional Jewish scribes of a later period. It appears to be in the nature of a popular, unofficial manuscript produced by amateurs.

After allowance is made for such variants, the text of 1QIs agrees to a remarkable degree with the traditional text. Millar Burrows, who edited the scroll for publication, regarded this fact as its most significant characteristic.

The presence of occasional superior variants in a rather poorly copied manuscript was regarded by Millar Burrows as the second significant feature of the scroll. Some of the significant variants have been reflected in the translation of Isaiah in recent versions such as the Revised Standard Version, *The Jerusalem Bible*, the *New American Standard Bible*, *The New English Bible*, *The New American Bible*, *The Modern Language Bible*, the *Good News Bible*, and the *New International Version*. The committee of translators that produced the Revised Standard Version, of which Burrows was a member, adopted a total of thirteen readings from the Isaiah scroll (see Isa. 3:24; 14:4, 30; 15:9; 21:8; 23:2; 33:8; 45:2, 8; 49:24; 51:19; 56:12; 60:19). At least eight of these are supported by one or more of the ancient versions. Afterward Dr. Burrows had second thoughts regarding the adoption of some of these variants and concluded that in some cases the traditional reading should have been retained after all. The *New International Version*, produced by a committee of about 100 evangelical scholars, made at least eleven changes in the traditional text of Isaiah on the basis of the scroll together with the support of ancient

versions (see Isa. 14:4; 21:8; 33:8; 37:20, 25, 27; 45:2; 49:24; 51:19; 52:5; 53:11). It is worthy of note that only six of these are identical with the changes made in the Revised Standard Version.

The fragmentary copy of Isaiah (1QIs), containing major portions of Isaiah 41–66, also found in Cave 1, is a more accurately written copy, but at the same time also shows fewer and less significant variants from the Masoretic text. The most significant variant in it is its agreement with 1QIs and the Septuagint in adding the word “light” to Isaiah 53:11, making the clause read “After the travail of his soul he shall see light.” It also agrees with 1QIs and the Septuagint in reading “their transgressions” rather than “transgressors.”

Fragments of about a dozen other Isaiah manuscripts were recovered from Cave 4, including two commentaries (*peshers*). The text of these fragments conforms closely to the traditional Hebrew. These manuscripts of Isaiah give evidence of the antiquity of the textual tradition transmitted in our printed Hebrew Bible. Whatever revising and editing was done in the 1st century A.D., no significant alteration in the consonantal text was made. The Dead Sea scrolls reassure us of the substantial accuracy of the Hebrew text.

The majority of the copies of other Old Testament books also support the Proto-Masoretic Hebrew text. For example, although some of the fragments of the fifteen different manuscripts of Genesis have individual readings that agree with the Hebrew underlying the Septuagint, as a whole they support the traditional Hebrew text. The manuscripts of the remaining books of the Pentateuch, however, represent three different types of text. The majority support the Proto-Masoretic type. But among the fifteen manuscripts of Exodus known, one (4QEx^a) contains a type of text that closely resembles what must have been the underlying Hebrew of the Septuagint. The same is true of a fragment containing Deuteronomy 32:41–43 (4QDeut^b). No Hebrew manuscripts were previously known that show these characteristic readings of the Greek Old Testament. A text similar to that of the Samaritan Pentateuch is represented by a manuscript of Exodus (4Qpaleo Ex^m) coming from the early 2d century B.C., and written in the paleo-Hebrew script. In the portions of some forty columns that have survived, one can observe the additions and explanatory expansions from parallel passages characteristic of the Samaritan Pentateuch. There is no evidence, however, that the manuscript contained the special “sectarian” readings that support Samaritan doctrines. Similarly, the sizable fragments of a manuscript of Numbers (4QNum^b) contains the expansions found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, but they also frequently have individual readings that agree with the Septuagint. It is evident, then, that the manuscripts exhibit three lines of transmission: the Proto-Masoretic, the text underlying the Septuagint, and the Proto-Samaritan.

It has long been recognized that the Hebrew text of the books of Samuel contains numerous textual problems. In the process of transmission it appears that the Hebrew text of these books has suffered, particularly through accidental omissions. The Septuagint often contains what are evidently the Greek equivalent of these missing portions. The discovery of the fragments of three manuscripts (4QSam^{a,b,c}) in Cave 4 is therefore of great significance. This is particularly true of 4QSam^b, which is dated about the last quarter of the 3d century B.C., and of which large portions of the text have been preserved. Concerning these manuscripts, Frank M. Cross, Jr., who published 4QSam^a and ^b, asserts:

“The text of Samuel contained in three scrolls from Cave IV is widely at variance with that of the traditional Masoretic Bible; it follows systematically the rendering of the Septuagint of Samuel.”—*The Ancient Library of Qumran*, p. 179.

The text of 4QSam^b, he further points out, at times preserves readings that are superior to both the Septuagint and the traditional Hebrew. He then shows the significance of this for the textual criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament:

“These manuscripts established once and for all that in the historical books the Septuagint translators faithfully and with extreme literalness reproduced their Hebrew *Vorlage*. And this means that the Septuagint of the historical books must be resurrected as a primary tool of the Old Testament critic. This is a repudiation of much of the textual theory and method developed and applied to the Hebrew text of Samuel during the last generation.”—*ibid.*, pp. 180f.

This does not mean, he goes on to point out, that the readings in the Septuagint are necessarily superior to those in the traditional Hebrew. Each reading must be individually studied and, with extreme care, evaluated. Each one must be considered on its own merit.

For more than a century the cumulative weight of archeological evidence has confirmed the views of conservative Christians in the field of higher criticism (see pp. 159-175). Now it is equally gratifying to find discoveries such as those at Qumran similarly vindicating their faith in the authenticity of the text of the Old Testament as it has come down to us. The gap that separates us from the original text of the Old Testament has by no means been bridged completely, but the Qumran discoveries have narrowed the gap appreciably and confirmed the confidence of the conservative Christian in the fundamental reliability of its text.

III. Textual Criticism of the New Testament

Materials.—(For a discussion of the principal Greek manuscripts and of the most important versions of the New Testament, see pp. 116-123). When contrasted with the relatively scarce Old Testament textual materials, the thousands of extant New Testament manuscripts present abundant sources for lower criticism. Consequently, New Testament textual criticism has been most profitable and has, to a remarkable extent, succeeded in determining what was probably the original reading of the apostolic autographs. This establishment through lower criticism of a reliable Greek text made possible a scientific study of the language of the New Testament, which, in turn, has been a significant factor in leading scholars over the last century to retreat from the extreme criticism that declared most of the New Testament to be postapostolic.

Although textual criticism has made its greatest contribution during the last one hundred years, an understanding of its development necessitates a survey of the history of the various printed editions of the Greek New Testament.

Early Printed Editions.—Although printing by means of movable type was invented in Europe around 1450, no complete Greek New Testament was printed until the second decade of the 16th century. This may have been partly because of the expense and difficulty of producing a font of Greek type, but primarily it was because of the authoritative prestige of the Latin Vulgate.

The Complutensian Polyglot. The first man to plan the publication of a Greek New Testament was the Spanish Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (1436–1517), more commonly known as Ximenes. In 1502 he arranged for a group of scholars to work on a polyglot edition of the whole Bible, which presented the

Old Testament in parallel columns in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and the New Testament in Greek and Latin. The Old Testament, which was printed in four volumes, was completed in 1517. Volume 5, containing the New Testament, was printed in 1514, but was not released for publication by Pope Leo X until 1522. In the meantime, the Greek New Testament of Erasmus had appeared on the market, and thus Ximenes lost the honor of being the first to publish a Greek New Testament.

Erasmus' Greek New Testament. The first published Greek New Testament was edited by the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), and appeared March 1, 1516. Johannes Froben, an enterprising printer in Basel, Switzerland, was eager to publish a Greek New Testament before Ximenes' work could be issued. He persuaded the Dutch humanist from Rotterdam to prepare the copy for publication. After ten months of work the first edition appeared on the market in February, 1516. The editing was hastily done, with a consequent loss in quality. The work was based on a few late minuscule manuscripts, which were available at Basel, but not any of the early great uncials so famous today. The text of the Gospels was based on codex 2, a poor minuscule manuscript of the 12th century, corrected by codex 1, a 10th-century MS of considerable value. For Acts and Paul's writings, he used mainly a 13th-century MS (2^{ap}) and for Revelation only one MS (1ⁱ), of the 12th century. Unfortunately, the latter lacked the last leaf containing the final six verses of Revelation 22. Erasmus supplied this lack by retranslating these verses from the Latin Vulgate back into Greek. He also interpolated material from the Vulgate at other points in the NT. As a result there are still words and phrases in the "Received Text" (see below on the Elzevir version) of the Greek NT that are not found in any Greek MS.

The Greek text of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, as he entitled the first edition, was accompanied in a parallel column by a new elegant Latin translation, the first Latin translation of the entire New Testament since the time of Jerome. Unfortunately, the first edition contained hundreds of typographical errors. In the four later editions (2d ed., 1519; 3d ed., 1522; 4th ed., 1527; 5th ed., 1535) most of these careless errors were corrected. The second edition, entitled *Novum Testamentum*, became the basis of Luther's *Das Neue Testament Deutzsch*. The 3d edition is famous for the introduction of the famous "three witnesses" passage in 1 John 5:7, 8a. This *Comma Johanneum*, as it is called, consists of the words, "in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth." Although this addition was found in the Vulgate of Erasmus' time, the Greek manuscripts known to him did not have it, and he therefore omitted it in his 1st and 2d editions. It is now known that this passage appeared first in late Latin manuscripts, but is missing in all early Greek texts. None of the other old versions contains it, and no Father of the church quotes it even when arguing about the Trinity. Thus, it is clear that the *Comma Johanneum* has no right to be part of the Bible text, and that modern translators are justified in omitting it.

Dominance of the Textus Receptus.—*Robert Stephanus* (Estienne, 1503–1559), a Parisian printer, scholar, and protégé of Francis I, published four editions of the Greek New Testament between 1546 and 1551 that were mainly reprints of Erasmus. His 3d edition of 1550, known as the "royal edition" (*editio regia*), contained a critical apparatus in which variant readings from 15 manuscripts were cited. The text, which was

substantially that of Erasmus, became the generally accepted form of the Greek text in Great Britain. The 4th edition of 1551, published in Geneva, is notable for the first use of numbered verse divisions in the New Testament. Stephanus made them as a reference tool for a concordance on which he was working, which was published by his son Henri in 1594.

Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), Calvin's friend and successor at Geneva, published four independent editions (in 1565, 1582, 1589, 1598) of the Greek New Testament, all of them differing but little from Stephanus. Although he had Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus in his possession, he made little use of them. The translators of the King James Version of 1611 relied heavily on these editions, together with the last two of Stephanus.

The Elzevir Brothers. The name *Textus Receptus*, or Received Text, is derived from the 2d edition, 1633, of the Greek Testament produced by two Dutch printers, Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir. The preface of this edition puts forth the claim in Latin: "You have therefore the text [*textum*], now received [*receptum*] by all, in which we give nothing changed or corrupted." The designation *Textus Receptus* for the Erasmus-Stephanus-Beza text became the basis for all of the principal Protestant versions of the New Testament, including the English versions, before 1881. For 300 years whenever and wherever the Greek NT was printed it was in the form of the Textus Receptus.

The Accumulation of Textual Evidence, 1633– 1830.—During the last two centuries of the Textus Receptus' supremacy, however, textual evidence was accumulating that indicated that a more accurate text could be produced. Better and older Greek manuscripts became available for study. In 1627 the 5th-century Codex Alexandrinus arrived in England as a gift from Cyril Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople.

The London Polyglot Bible. Thirty years later Brian Walton (1600(?)–1661) produced the *London Polyglot Bible*, the 5th volume of which contained the New Testament with variant readings from Codex Alexandrinus, designated "A," at the foot of the page. The 6th volume contained a critical apparatus with the first systematic collection of variant readings from the Textus Receptus from "above forty old Greek manuscripts." Among these were Codex Bezae (5th century, cited as "Cant"), and Codex Claromontanus (6th century, cited as "Clar"). It also cited readings from the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peshitta, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions.

John Mill. In 1707 John Mill (1645–1707) after 30 years of work produced a collection of about 30,000 variant readings from the Textus Receptus in the notes and appendices of his Greek New Testament.

Richard Bentley. Although attempts were made to improve the traditional text, no one had the courage to abandon the Textus Receptus and begin afresh from the Greek manuscripts themselves. In 1720 Richard Bentley (1662–1742), an illustrious classical scholar, published his *Proposals for Printing a Critical Edition of the New Testament*. He planned a Greek and Latin New Testament that would correspond, he felt, with the text of the 4th century, but the great master of Trinity College, Cambridge, died before he succeeded in implementing his proposals. His importance lies chiefly in the stimulus he gave to others to study the manuscripts.

Bengel. In 1734 Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752) published the *Textus Receptus*, but for the first time classified the variant readings he included in the margin under five categories according to the degree of superiority, equality, or inferiority each had to the text printed. He also advanced the view that since the vast majority of New Testament manuscripts were written after the 10th century, manuscripts should be weighed rather than counted. To choose readings on the basis of majority support by the manuscripts would result in a text of late medieval times.

Wettstein. Johann Jakob Wettstein (1693–1794) is notable for two significant contributions: (1) His nomenclature of manuscripts. He distinguished the uncials by capital letters, and the minuscules by Arabic numerals, thus instituting a system that still survives. (2) His collection of materials. His two-volume Greek New Testament (1751–2) contained the readings of more than 300 manuscripts, as well as a collection of parallels to New Testament passages from classical, Jewish, and Christian writers, which is still consulted by scholars.

Semler and Griesbach. The idea of grouping manuscripts was further developed by Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791) and Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745–1812). Both divided New Testament manuscripts into three groups. In addition, two of Griesbach's canons of criticism still have a qualified application: The shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer, and the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier.

Decline of the *Textus Receptus*.—*Karl Lachmann* (1793–1851). The first major break with the tradition of the *Textus Receptus* was accomplished by Karl Lachmann in two editions (1831 and 1842–50), in which he disregarded the “received text” and attempted to reconstruct what he believed to be the New Testament current in the 4th century. While Lachmann's work contained manifest weaknesses, it was significant for the fact that he turned the attention of scholars toward the desirability of securing a text superior to that traditionally received.

Tregelles. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813–1875) produced a new critical text of the New Testament that he hoped would displace the *Textus Receptus*. He traveled extensively for the purpose of collating Greek manuscripts. His critical work was distinguished by scrupulous exactness. From 1857 to 1872 he produced a single edition of the New Testament.

Tischendorf. Constantin Tischendorf (1815–1874) was the greatest discoverer, collector, and publisher of New Testament manuscripts who has ever lived. He discovered more than 20 uncials, published most of them for the first time, and published 24 editions of the Greek New Testament between 1841 and 1873. To his genius and perseverance New Testament scholarship owes the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, the decipherment of the Ephraemi, and the first publication of the Vaticanus. His crowning publication was the 8th edition of his critical Greek Testament, *Editio Octava Critica*

Major, containing a rich apparatus not yet superseded, in seven parts between 1864 and 1872. His publications did much to reestablish confidence in the apostolic authorship of the New Testament, which extreme higher critics had denied.

Westcott and Hort. In 1881, after nearly thirty years of research work on the textual problems of the New Testament, two Cambridge scholars, Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, produced their monumental *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. They built on, refined, and further developed the critical methodology of earlier textual scholars mentioned above, and used it rigorously and consistently. Since

their principles and methods have had a profound impact on textual studies, they must be briefly summarized here.

They begin by examining individual variant readings for the purpose of determining in a particular passage the one that appears to be the most probable. In this process, two kinds of internal evidence are considered: (1) Intrinsic probability, which examines the several variants and seeks to determine, in the light of the context, which one the original author is most likely to have written. Which one is in harmony with the author's known style and habits of speech and thought, and makes the best sense in the context? (2) Transcriptional probability, which looks at the several variants from the viewpoint of the copyists. Knowing the proclivity of scribes, and the characteristic scribal errors that occur, which variant best explains the origin of the others, but cannot itself be explained by them?

By using intrinsic and transcriptional evidence, Westcott and Hort sought to determine the character and reliability of individual manuscripts. If a particular manuscript has consistently good readings, it may be assumed that it is a good witness. Hence, by using the first step one can form an opinion of the comparative value of the various manuscripts. A manuscript that has good readings where one can test it may be presumed to have good readings also in places where the internal evidence is uncertain. On this basis, Westcott and Hort concluded that Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus are the best New Testament witnesses.

They then proceeded to divide the manuscripts into family groupings, and concluded that they fall into four principal types of text: (1) *Syrian Text*, the form of text found in most of the minuscule manuscripts, the later uncials, and many of the later versions and the quotations of the later Church Fathers. (2) *Neutral Text*, the type of text found in Codex Vaticanus (B), Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲁ), L, T, 33, the Bohairic version, and a few others. Westcott and Hort called this type of text "neutral" because they felt that it had the least amount of later corruption and was, therefore, closest to the autographs. (3) *Alexandrian Text*. Westcott and Hort put the type of text found in Codex 53, the Coptic versions, and the Alexandrian Fathers in a separate category. They differ from the neutral more in language than in substance. (4) *Western Text*. A name applied to a small group of manuscripts represented chiefly by the bilingual Codices Bezae (D), and Claromontanus (Dp), a few minuscules, the Old Latin version(s), the Curetonian Syriac, and almost all the Fathers of the 2d and 3d centuries. This early and widespread text is characterized by alterations and expansions.

The Westcott and Hort text definitely influenced the committee producing the RV and ASV, and became the basis of the Twentieth-Century New Testament and Goodspeed's *An American Translation*, as well as influencing such Greek texts as Nestle and the United Bible Societies' text. Westcott and Hort brought about the final dethronement of the Textus Receptus, in spite of its scholarly defense by F. H. A. Scrivener, J. W. Burgen, and Edward Miller. More recently the Textus Receptus has been championed by Edwin F. Hills and Wilbur N. Pickering.

Other Critical Greek Texts.—*The Resultant Greek Testament*. Richard Francis Weymouth (1822–1902) produced a Greek Testament representing the reading chosen by the majority of ten of the leading textual scholars of the 19th century. It was the basis of Weymouth's translation, *The New Testament in Modern Speech*.

Weiss. Bernhard Weiss (1827–1918) published a Greek New Testament in three volumes in Leipzig, 1894–1900, with a second smaller edition in 1902–1905. His text was edited on the principle of selecting in each case the reading deemed most intrinsically appropriate to the writer and the context. Because his studies led him to conclude that the best ancient manuscript was Codex Vaticanus, his resulting text is much like that of Westcott and Hort.

Von Soden. Herman Freiherr von Soden published a new Greek text with a critical apparatus (I, 1902–10, II, 1913). The text was based on Von Soden's textual theory, with his division of manuscripts into three categories, which were divided by Von Soden into a bewildering number of subgroups. The whole complicated scheme has been described as a "magnificent failure." Von Soden's text, however, was used as the basis for Moffatt's brilliant translation of the New Testament.

Souter. In 1910 Alexander Souter reproduced the Greek text that Archdeacon Edwin Palmer had constructed inferentially as the text behind the Revised Version of 1881. To this he added a selected critical apparatus, with valuable citations of evidence from the Fathers, especially the Latin Fathers. It was reproduced in 1947 at Oxford with the addition of newer evidence.

Nestle-Aland. Before the appearance of the United Bible Societies' Greek Testament, the most widely used text in recent times was the Nestle-Aland. It is a critical-eclectic text originally published in 1898 by Eberhard Nestle and based on a majority of agreement between Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Weiss (from the 3d edition on; the first two used Weymouth), with a small critical apparatus. A thorough revision is anticipated in the 26th edition, under the editorship of Kurt Aland.

UBS. The United Bible Societies have sponsored a critical edition of *The Greek New Testament* with an apparatus of exegetically important variant readings, prepared by an international committee under the editorship of Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce Metzger, and Allen Wikgren. The first edition appeared in 1966; with the third edition, 1975, the name of Carlo M. Martini was added to the list of editors.

Greek Text of N.E.B. The eclectic text constructed by the translators of *The New English Bible* was edited with an introduction, textual notes, and appendix by R. V. G. Tasker (1964). The textual notes give the rationale for a large number of the choices made in the text. Often they daringly chose readings that have the support of only a very small group of manuscripts of the Western type.

Textual Criticism Since Westcott and Hort.—Continuing studies have modified the conclusions of Westcott and Hort in the 20th century. One of the factors bringing about a change was the new discovery of important manuscripts. Among these are the four purple parchments (NOΣΦ) of the 6th century, written in silver and gold ink; the 5th-century Washington Codex (W) of the four Gospels discovered in Cairo in 1906; the 84 surviving leaves of the Washington manuscript of the Pauline Epistles (I), dating from the 5th or 6th century; and the rediscovery in 1901 of Codex Koridethi (Θ) after being "lost" in a convent for 30 years. Among the versions, mention should be made of the discovery of the palimpsest manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels at St. Catherine's monastery at Mt. Sinai in 1892. But the most startling discoveries, because of their age, were papyri, including the three New Testament Codices of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, and, more recently, the Codices of John, Jude, and 1 and 2 Peter, and Luke and John among the Bodmer Papyri.

With respect to Westcott and Hort's classification of manuscripts into text types, a number of modifications and clarifications have been made. Canon B. H. Streeter's *The Four Gospels*, with its theory of local texts, has had a marked influence in this area. The following principal text types are now generally accepted:

(1) *Byzantine*. This is the designation for the text found in the later manuscripts that Westcott and Hort termed Syrian. Since the term "Syrian" is subject to confusion with Syriac, and since the text's chief center of predominance was Constantinople, plus the fact that it was the text most widely used in the Byzantine church, scholars today prefer the designation Byzantine Text. A late form of this text is the Textus Receptus, which formed the basis of the KJV and many other translations into modern languages until the 19th century. That text is also spoken of as the "Greek Vulgate" the "Ecclesiastical Text," the "Koine [Common] Text" or the "Traditional Text." (2) *Alexandrian*. This category combines Westcott and Hort's Neutral and Alexandrian. Twentieth-century scholars maintain that there is not sufficient differentiation between the two to justify the retention of separate categories. Rather the manuscripts the Cambridge scholars classified as Alexandrian may simply represent differing degrees of fidelity to the text represented by Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. "Neutral" as a designation for preferred manuscripts is a presumptive term. Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, though still regarded as having a splendid text, are not as free from transcriptional corruptions as the Cambridge professors thought. (3) *Western*. This early and widespread text type has been carefully studied, and it is more highly regarded today than it was by Westcott and Hort. Its striking readings and additions are especially noteworthy in Luke and Acts. (4) *Caesarean*. Through the work of Streeter, Lake, Blake, and New, a new text type has been identified. It began with the discovery about 1875 by W. H. Ferrar that a group of manuscripts were textually related. This group, to which other manuscripts have since been added, is known as Family 13 or the Ferrar Group, which is headed by Manuscript 13.

Another group of related manuscripts, discovered by Kirsop Lake, is known as Family 1 (because headed by Manuscript 1). It was further discovered that the two families are textually related, as well as being related to some other Codices. After the rediscovery of the Koridethi Gospels, Professors Lake and Blake found that these related manuscripts were also related to these Gospels. To this family of manuscripts, Codex W in Mark, chapters 15–16, and the Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels were added. B. H. Streeter called this new text type Caesarean because Origen used this kind of text at Caesarea. The Old Georgian, Old Armenian, and Palestinian Syriac (in Mark) versions also have the same text type.

Recent textual critics also attach more significance to the testimony of ancient versions and the Fathers than Westcott and Hort did. Many of them also hold that no one text type preserves all the original readings. This situation has led scholars to conclude that the restoration of the original text cannot be achieved simply by following objective rules of criticism to determine which of several variant readings is best, and that it is not feasible to choose any one manuscript or group of manuscripts as the "best manuscripts." This means that the present trend in textual criticism is toward eclecticism. Hence the shift is to a stronger reliance on what Westcott and Hort called intrinsic and transcriptional probability.

Even though these theories and methods of contemporary scholars represent a definite departure from those employed by Westcott and Hort, nevertheless there are only slight differences in the main critical texts now followed, such as the Nestle-Aland and United Bible societies, as compared with the text of Westcott and Hort. The Greek text on which *The New English Bible* is based, constructed by the eclectic method, however, differs considerably. While most of the readings adopted agree with the major critical texts, frequently different readings were adopted that are supported by a very small group of manuscripts of the Western type.

New Testament Textual Criticism in This Commentary.—The importance of textual evidence to a correct understanding of many passages in the New Testament makes it desirable to take note, throughout this commentary, of textual differences that have a significant bearing upon the meaning of these passages. It is not the purpose of this commentary, however, to approach the exegesis of Holy Writ in terms of a highly technical textual discussion, which would prove of little value to the average reader. Hence references to variant readings are not, as a general rule, accompanied by detailed evidence for or against a given reading; such evidence may be found in the critical apparatus of technical works such as Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. However, a general evaluation of textual evidence is given, based on the readings of the more important manuscripts, the ancient versions, and patristic quotations from Scripture—here referred to collectively as “textual evidence”—in harmony with generally recognized principles of textual study. Unavoidably, a certain subjective element is often involved in this evaluation. See pp. 10, 116-123.

The evidence for or against a given reading is generally indicated by one of the following statements:

1. “Textual evidence attests the reading ...” (Where, with possible exceptions of minor importance, textual evidence for a reading appears conclusive.)
2. “Textual evidence favors the reading ...” (Where textual evidence is less than conclusive.)
3. “Textual evidence is divided between the readings ...” (Where textual evidence for or against a reading is indecisive.)
4. “There is some [or slight] textual evidence for the reading ...”
5. “[Important] textual evidence may [also] be cited for [or against] the reading ...” (Where a variant reading is mentioned only as a matter of interest and [or] with no attempt at evaluation.)

PART II: HIGHER CRITICISM

I. Introduction

As contrasted with lower criticism, which concerns itself largely with linguistic and textual matters, higher criticism is devoted to the study of such questions as the authorship, time, place, and circumstances of writing, historical validity, and literary relationships of a work.

The higher criticism of the Bible may be divided into two types, which in many aspects blend into one discipline—that which takes a skeptical attitude toward the Bible, and that which criticizes it on the basis of available historical evidence.

The skeptic relegates Bible narratives to the realm of fiction, because, says he, they describe events that cannot have happened under ordinary circumstances, and cannot be explained by means of known laws of nature. He affirms that stories concerning the

earliest events, such as the record of creation, the longevity of the early patriarchs, and the story of the Flood, are ancient myths, and he rejects everything that must be accepted by faith.

The historical critic, on the other hand, draws his conclusions from internal evidence by studying the historical parts of the Bible, its laws, prophecies, and wisdom literature, and compares them with what is known from other sources. Higher critics evaluate the possible historicity of Bible stories; that is, they try to determine how much of a certain story is historical fact and how much of it is the product of the mind of a later writer. Clear and specific prophecies dealing with historical events are considered to have been written after the events described had happened.

Arguments of the Skeptic Not Discussed Here.—It is not the purpose of this article to study the arguments advanced by the skeptic against the reliability of the Bible. He challenges the truth of events and facts that can be seen only with the eye of faith and are therefore invisible to the unbeliever. In view of the fact that such points of faith cannot be verified by objective evidence, they are outside the range of this study.

For this reason the allegedly mythical character of the early stories of the Bible, much emphasized by critical scholars of a skeptical turn of mind, will not be discussed. Skeptics refuse to believe that Abraham, at the age of 99 years, begat a son, and that, according to the Bible record, he had several others later, by Keturah. They also question that he was able to defeat the disciplined armies of four monarchs from the east with his band of household slaves.

Some of the events described in these Bible stories have parallels in ancient as well as in modern times that show that under certain circumstances extraordinary things can, and do, take place. For instance, it has happened more than once in history that a small band of determined warriors has defeated a large and well-disciplined army, especially when the attack was made by surprise. One could in this way explain Abraham's victory over the armies from the east, or the massacre of Shechem's population by Jacob's sons. However, such parallels are still no proof that the challenged events described in the Bible actually took place. It is one thing to prove that such events *could* have occurred, and another to prove that they *did* occur. It is for this reason that their discussion is passed over here. Such accounts are believed by the one who accepts the Bible as an accurate historical record, and rejected by those who reject all but what they are compelled to believe, on the basis of what they consider incontrovertible evidence.

Critical Arguments of a Historical Nature.—However, many of the incidents related in the Bible as historical facts, but which have been declared unhistorical by the higher critic, have proved to be substantiated by recent archeological evidence. The arguments of the higher critics in this category can therefore be examined and proved untenable by sound evidence of a scientific nature. However, this brief survey will not attempt to treat the subject under discussion in an exhaustive way. This is neither possible within the confines of an article, nor necessary, since so many critical theories of the past have been exploded and are no longer held even by critical scholars themselves.

II. Higher Criticism of the Old Testament

In the higher criticism of the Old Testament the study of the Pentateuch has played a pre-eminent part. Theories developed in regard to these books have been applied to a critical evaluation of other Old Testament books. Since an understanding of Pentateuchal criticism forms a basis for the understanding of the problems and arguments brought up

by critics with regard to other books of the Old Testament, it is necessary first to study the scholarly views held during the last two hundred years with regard to the first five books of the Old Testament. Furthermore, Pentateuchal criticism has involved such radical departures from traditional views that it has brought about a rewriting of Israelite history by critics who accept its conclusions. This radically revised historical structure has affected the critical view of almost all the Old Testament. Consequently, in the present article the higher criticism of the Pentateuch is given particular emphasis. Space forbids a careful study of the critical views held with regard to every Old Testament book, but some of the main critical arguments regarding books other than the Pentateuch will be discussed, together with evidence that indicates these views to be invalid.

History of Pentateuchal Criticism.—*Pre-Reformation Critics.* Like other Jews of their own time and like their ancestors for centuries past, Jesus and the apostles believed that Moses was the inspired author of the Torah, that is, the Law, or Pentateuch.

Few Christian or Jewish writers of pre-Reformation days doubted this traditional view that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. However, some of the Church Fathers, Irenaeus (died c. A.D. 200), Clement of Alexandria (died c. A.D. 220), Tertullian (died c. A.D. 230), and others, accepted the fictitious story of the spurious book of IV Ezra (written c. A.D. 100) to the effect that all books of the Old Testament that were in existence at the time of Nebuchadnezzar were lost when he destroyed Jerusalem, and that they were later rewritten by five scribes to whom Ezra dictated them by inspiration. Of the orthodox Church Fathers only Jerome (5th century), the translator of the Bible into Latin, expressed guarded doubts regarding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the reliability of the story of IV Ezra. Others who did so included the Nazarenes, members of various Gnostic sects, Celsus, a Platonic philosopher (c. A.D. 180), and Ptolemy, a Valentinian Gnostic (c. A.D. 175). However, even after allowance is made for dissent, it may be said that Christian scholarship in general accepted the traditional authorship of all Bible books.

The Jews had always believed in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The Talmud expressly affirms this to be so, and attributes to Joshua only the last eight verses of Deut. 34, describing the death of Moses (Talmud *Baba Bathra* 14b-15a, Soncino ed., pp. 71-73). Ibn Ezra, however, a famous medieval Jewish scholar (A.D. 1092-1167), expressed some doubt with regard to the Mosaic authorship of certain passages of the Pentateuch. This he did by cleverly observing that certain Jewish scholars of previous centuries had dated these passages later than the time of Moses. In this way he avoided suspicion as to his own orthodoxy.

From the Reformation to Jean Astruc. The Reformers were all staunch believers in the inspiration of the Bible. They translated it into their respective modern languages, and did everything in their power to encourage the people to regulate their faith and way of life in harmony with its teachings. There were no critics of the Bible among the Reformers or their immediate successors, with the exception of a few minor leaders such as Karlstadt. He declared that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch, since its style and diction are the same as those of the other Old Testament books.

Some Protestants of the 17th century specifically expressed their opinions on the subject of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. T. Hobbes (1651) held that Moses "wrote all that which he is there said to have written," implying that sections not specifically attributed to Moses' pen by direct testimonies of the books themselves may

have been written by someone else. The Calvinist Isaac la Peyrère (1655) saw in the Pentateuch, not an autograph of Moses, but a transcript of a transcript. The first man to attribute any part of Genesis to Babylonian influence, long before the Pan-Babylonians of the early 20th century, was Jean le Clerc (1685). He proposed that Gen. 1 to 11 was written by an Israelite author who lived in Babylonia after the fall of Samaria but before the Jewish exile, since both the Samaritans and the Jews had the Pentateuch.

Roman Catholic scholars of the post-Reformation period were even more critical than were Protestants, and several during the 16th and 17th centuries are known to have denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. A. Masius (1574) held that it was compiled by Ezra from ancient documents, whereas the Jesuit B. Pereira (1594), although attributing the greater part of the Pentateuch to Moses, nevertheless recognized later hands. Other Catholic scholars, like J. Bonnière (1625), Episcopus (died 1643), and R. Simon (1678), held similar views. The last-mentioned writer even denied the inspiration of some part of the Pentateuch.

The Age of Literary Criticism From Astruc to 1850. Jean Astruc (died 1766), who was court physician to Louis XV of France, is usually considered the founder of higher Biblical criticism. His *Conjectures*, published anonymously in 1753, laid the basis for higher critical views that have been current ever since. He was a keen student of the Bible, which he read in the original languages. In reading the book of Genesis he observed that the name *'Elohim* is used in some parts almost exclusively, whereas the name Jehovah (Heb. *Yahweh*) appears in others. This observation led him to the conclusion that Moses used different sources, one (Astruc's "A" source) coming from the time when the name of God was *'Elohim*, and the other (his "B" source) when it was *Yahweh*. Astruc communicated his observations to his friends, who urged him to publish them. Astruc, at first reluctant to do this for fear of disturbing anyone's faith, was finally persuaded to publish his findings without revealing himself as the author. His theory was hailed as a great discovery, and formed the basis of all higher critical theories developed since that time.

J. G. Eichhorn was the first influential theologian to follow Astruc in his reasoning. He made an attempt to characterize the various styles and thoughts of the two source writers, calling the one who used the divine name *'Elohim*, "Elohists," and labeling the other "Jahvist" because of his use of the name *Jahveh* (*Yahweh*). In the earliest edition of his *Introduction* (1780) Eichhorn, like Astruc, considered Moses the "redactor," or editor, of Genesis, but in later editions gave up this conservative view and denied the Mosaic authorship of Genesis altogether.

The next writer who followed this way of reasoning was K. D. Ilgen, whose published views (1798) on Genesis differentiated among 17 documents, supposedly written by three authors. These he called the "first Elohist" (E¹), the "second Elohist" (E²), and the "Jahvist" (J). It is of interest to note that Ilgen attributed to his own "second Elohist" some parts Astruc attributed to the "Jahvist." This marks the beginning of differences among critical scholars, and a rather general lack of agreement noticeable in all their works.

The aforementioned writers limited their literary criticism to Genesis. But Alexander Geddes, a Scottish priest, extended his study to the whole Pentateuch, and insisted (1792)

that the first five books of the Bible were compiled in Solomon's time from a mass of fragmentary documents of varying value. Then came J. S. Vater, who went further than any of his predecessors, claiming (1802) that the Pentateuch is the result of a slow and gradual literary growth that was not complete even when the Babylonian exile began.

It is not possible to describe all the different views proposed during the first hundred years after the publication of Astruc's *Conjectures*. Only the most influential works will be mentioned here. Among these belongs the *Historical-Critical Introduction to the Bible*, by W. M. L. De Wette (1817), in which he claimed that many cultural and religious conditions described in the Pentateuch did not exist until the time of the kings of Israel and Judah, and offered this as proof that it could not have been written earlier. He considered Genesis and Exodus to be a theological epic, Leviticus a collection of late laws, Numbers a supplement of miscellaneous matters, and Deuteronomy a product of the time of King Josiah.

During the first half of the 19th century other scholars, who proposed hypotheses by which they explained the development of the Pentateuch, were strongly influenced by the idea of progress, the philosophical forerunner of the evolution theory. One widely accepted hypothesis was propounded by J. F. L. George (1835). He claimed that some parts of the Pentateuch reflect "the Age of Myths"; other parts, the next stage of development, "the Age of Poets and Prophets"; and the latest sections, "the Age of Reason."

The Triumph of Biblical Higher Criticism. Another hypothesis, called the "New Documentary Theory," was proposed by H. Hupfeld in 1853. In a short time it found more adherents than anything previously suggested. Hupfeld distinguished among three main sources for Genesis: (1) an original E source, (2) a later E source, and (3) a J source. These three sources were then, according to Hupfeld, skillfully combined by a redactor (R). Although his theory does not seem to vary much from that suggested by Ilgen in 1798, his "discovery" of R was hailed as a great achievement, and tremendously influenced the thinking of all critical scholars.

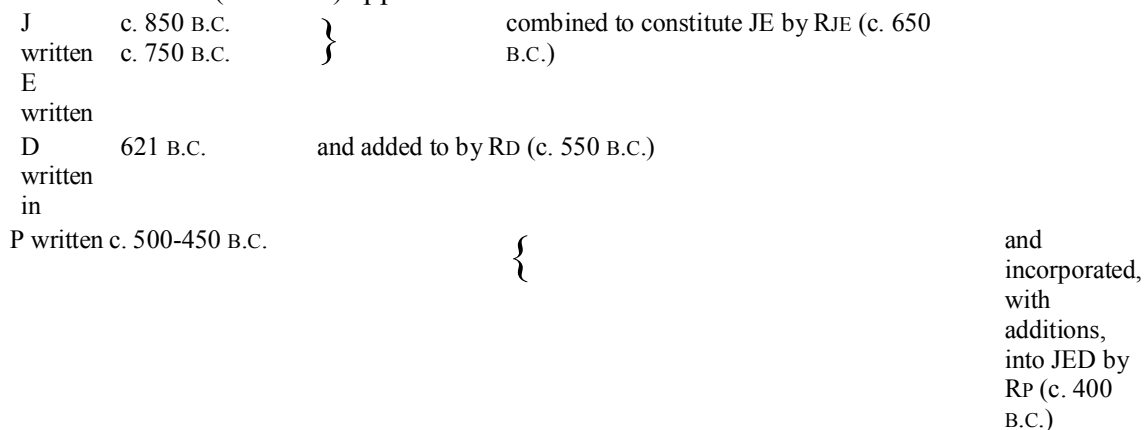
The next stage in the history of higher criticism was reached when K. H. Graf (1815–1869), a teacher of Hebrew, published his epoch-making work on the historical books of the Old Testament (1866). He expanded Hupfeld's theory by dating the J and (Hupfeld's "later") E sources as earlier than Deuteronomy, which according to him had been produced in Josiah's time (c. 621 B.C.). His great achievement was in convincing scholars that Hupfeld's original E source was in fact the latest of all, and had not existed before Ezra's time. He maintained that this source, containing laws and religious instruction, was written by a priest long after the Exile.

Then came Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), who brought higher critical views to full maturity. His gift of plausible presentation and fascinating ability to convince students and readers of the apparent soundness of his opinions made him the father of the so-called Graf-Wellhausen theory, which to all critical scholars of his time became an almost sacrosanct institution. The prolific activity of his students and followers, particularly during the years immediately after publication of his epochal *History of Israel* (1878), together with other circumstances, enabled critical Bible scholars to occupy the majority of theological chairs in schools of higher learning, especially in Europe. In this way almost all ministerial students in Europe, and later many also in America, came under the influence of the Wellhausen school. For a long time its

teachings were considered absolute facts, first by the great majority of theological scholars and students, and later also by ministers and many of the informed laity.

The Graf-Wellhausen theory, briefly, consists of the following scheme: The Bible writer called Jahvist (J), a citizen of the southern kingdom of Judah, wrote his source material, among which, for example, are the patriarchal stories from Abraham to the Exodus, in the middle of the 9th century B.C. A century later the writer called Elohist (E), living in the northern kingdom of Israel, wrote his account. These two documents were cleverly combined into one book, JE, by a redactor or editor (R^{JE}) about 650 B.C. In 621 B.C. the book of Deuteronomy (D) was produced, although not in the form we know it. This book was worked over by another redactor (R^D) about 550 B.C. Between the years 500 and 450 B.C. a priestly writer (P) wrote the legal and religious parts of the Pentateuch, which were then incorporated into the other books of a presumed Mosaic origin by another redactor (R^P), who did his final work of editing about 400 B.C. or a little later. Since that time, according to the theory, the Pentateuch has not experienced appreciable modification.

A schematic picture of this theory of reckoning with four source authors (JEDP) and three redactors ($R^{JE}R^DR^P$) appears as follows:



Although this scheme was accepted by most scholars as the basic hypothesis for all further study, modifications of a minor or even a major nature were introduced by almost every man who wrote on the subject. Many did not accept the J source as a unit, but subdivided it into J^1 and J^2 , or into J^1 , J^2 , and J^3 , assigning to each a different period of writing. E was equally subdivided into E^1 and E^2 , as was D into D and D^s , and also P into P, P^H , and P^s , the s being an abbreviation for "supplement," the H for "Holiness Code," a label given to Lev. 17 to 26. This splitting of sources into subdivisions was done because scholars discovered apparent differences in the material attributed to the various standard sources J, E, D, and P. Also, scholars disagreed widely as to the sequence or the time of production of the different sources. Some of the most famous of Wellhausen's followers, such as R. Kittel, H. Strack, W. W. Baudissin, and A. Dillman, argued that P worked in pre-exilic time. This placed him about 100 to 200 years earlier than Wellhausen had. E. König and Baudissin, furthermore, considered E much earlier than J, reversing Wellhausen's order, and some scholars were convinced that Deuteronomy had been produced earlier than 621 B.C.

A study of the many higher critical explanations of the Old Testament, even of those propounded after the triumph of the Graf-Wellhausen theory over all rivals, shows that

hardly two authors agree either with regard to the time when the different supposed authors of the Pentateuch wrote their respective sections, or to the sequence of the sources. The only point that all these higher critical works have in common is their agreement that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch.

When the higher critical scholars experienced their greatest triumph, in the last decades of the 19th century and the first of the 20th, Bibles were published intended to teach the uninitiated reader the results of literary criticism of the Bible, as higher criticism is also called. In these Polychrome or Rainbow Bibles various sources discovered by modern scholarship are indicated in different colors. To give an example, E. C. Bissel's *Genesis Printed in Colors*, published in 1892, uses seven different colors in presenting the text of Genesis. On some of these pages five different colors are used to indicate as many different sources. On page 56, for example, which contains parts of Gen. 48 and 49, appear four sections, totalling nine verses, printed in red (E), three containing six verses printed in black (J), one line consisting of one third of a verse printed in blue (P), one section of eight verses in orange (J¹), and two words in green indicating the hand of an editor or redactor (R).

An analysis of Gen. 15 provides a further example of Bissel's *Genesis*. The first three verses are printed in brown, attributed to the combined source JE. The word "Dammeseek" ("of Damascus" in the KJV) in v. 2, however, is underlined, since it is considered a gloss or a later addition. Verse 4 belongs to J, as do also vs. 6, 9–11, 17, and 18, which are printed in black. Verse 5, printed in red, is from the E source, and vs. 7, 8, 12–16, and 19–21, are in green, representing a late redactor. The history of this chapter according to the Graf-Wellhausen theory would therefore be the following as interpreted by Bissel's *Genesis*:

1. Verses 4, 6, 9–11, 17, 18, and some material of vs. 1–3 were written in 850 B.C., and contained all that was known about this vision of Abraham in the 9th century B.C.

2. Verse 5, together with parts of vs. 1–3, was composed about 750 B.C. Thus, in the latter part of the 8th century, people had two different accounts of the vision of Abraham, one written by J and the other by E, written 100 years apart.

3. The two stories were combined into one account by R^{JE} in 650 B.C. The beginnings of both narratives were so cleverly blended, being now vs. 1–3, that it is impossible to discover what was originally J and what was E. But the rest of J (vs. 4, 6, 9–11, 17, 18) and E (v. 5) was taken over without any editorial work. Hence, by the time of Josiah, the people had only one story of the vision, consisting of the equivalent of our vs. 1–6, 9–11, 17, and 18.

4. Finally, the story was expanded by R in the 5th century. He added to it vs. 7, 8, 12–16, and 19–21. Thus the story achieved the form in which we have it, with the exception of the word "Dammeseek," which was added in v. 2 by some later copyist.

The explanation of Genesis based on Bissel's work, however, does not agree with the findings of other scholars. Holzinger, for example, says in Kautzch's Bible that the different sources of Gen. 15 cannot be isolated with certainty, and refrains from attempting to do so. The analysis of Gen. 15 by the Polychrome Bible of Paul Haupt (1896) differs widely from that of Bissel as to the original sources of the various sections. See table on next page.

These existing differences leave the nonexpert reader bewildered and confused. He fails to understand why scholars cannot agree in regard to their conclusions, and why

certain passages in the Pentateuch declared by one writer to have been written by J, have with equal certainty been attributed to E, R, or D by another scholarly writer. The first may have based his assumption on the fact that these passages contained the name *Yahweh*, while the second author may have considered the name *Yahweh* a later addition made by a redactor, but that the style, contents, and character of the passages indicate that someone other than J wrote them.

That higher criticism of the Bible achieved so great a triumph and found so many followers can be attributed only to the human tendency to follow brilliant and convincing leaders without examining the evidence they offer. This tendency is evident not only in the political and religious world but also in the scholarly. That men of learning and discernment still follow these theories is due to the fact that Bible criticism was long held to be synonymous with scholarship in the theological world, and that any man who sought recognition as a scholar had to fall in line with the verdict of the founders of the science of higher Bible criticism. If a man wanted his ideas printed in scholarly journals and by reputable publishers, he had to be a critic. If he took exception to established opinion, he was ridiculed, ostracized, or perhaps simply ignored.

But there were other reasons than the different names for God that led Wellhausen and his followers to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and to brand it the product of later times. These various reasons will now be discussed.

The Arguments of Higher Critics.—The reasoning of nonskeptical higher critics is based on historical and linguistic evidence. Only a limited number of these arguments can be discussed within the confines of this article. However, those considered here are representative of many others of a similar nature and provide a fair sampling of the issues involved.

Divine Names. The argument based on the different divine names, which forms the basis of higher criticism, has been considered in the preceding section.

Babylonian Origin of the Flood Story. It is a strange fact that the archeological discoveries made in Bible lands during the 19th century seemed, at first sight, to provide material that disproved rather than confirmed the accuracy of the Bible. It is true that many finds came to light which were acclaimed by

<i>Verse</i>	<i>Genesis Printed in Colors</i>	<i>Polychrome Bible</i>	
1	JE	11 words E,	8 words J2
2	JE with a later gloss	10 words J2,	6 words E
3	JE	7 words E,	5 words J2
4	J	J2	
5	E	E	
6	J	J2	
7	R	J2 with a redactional gloss	
8	R	J2	
9	J	J2	
10	J	J2	
11	J	J2	
12	R	7 words J2,	6 words JE
13	R	JE	
14	R	JE	

15	R	JE	
16	R	JE	
17	J	5 words JE,	10 words J2
18	J	18 words J2,	2 words D
19	R	D	
20	R	D	
21	R	D	

conservative Christians as supporting the Bible, but these same discoveries were often pointed to by the critics as supporting their critical views.

The discovery of the cuneiform tablet containing the Babylonian Flood story may serve as an example of this tendency. When, in 1872, George Smith found among the tablets of Ashurbanipal's library of Nineveh, now in the British Museum, one that contained a Babylonian Flood story closely resembling that of the book of Genesis, Bible-believing Christians were delighted to find that other ancient people knew about the Flood. They accepted this, the Gilgamesh Epic (see Vol. I, p. 115), as evidence that that great catastrophe actually occurred. Critical scholars, however, have maintained that the Babylonian Flood story is based on a disastrous local flood limited to the Mesopotamian valley, caused by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and that the story of this disaster was embellished by the writers and poets of many generations until it reached the form in which it appears in the Gilgamesh Epic.

They claimed, furthermore, that this Babylonian story became known to the Jews during the Exile in Babylonia, and was taken over by them. Jewish writers are then supposed to have adapted it to their own religious ideas and inserted it in their Scriptures. This was done, they alleged, by purifying it of its Babylonian polytheistic and immoral features, thus bringing it into harmony with Jewish religion and ethics. A large segment of Bible scholars, instead of seeing in the discovery of the Babylonian Flood story a corroboration of the Biblical account, believed this discovery proved them right in assigning the Biblical Flood story to the realm of myth and folklore.

It was similarly claimed by critical scholars that the stories of creation, of the Tower of Babel, and of others were also borrowed from Babylonian legends during the Exile and incorporated into Jewish sacred literature.

The Problem of Hebrew Script. During the 19th century Egypt and Mesopotamia, the two great civilizations of antiquity, were proving to the astonished world that they possessed complicated systems of writing during the earliest periods of their history. In Palestine, however, no Hebrew inscriptions of equal age were found. The oldest alphabetic inscription discovered in the land of Moab in 1868, the Mesha (Moabite) Stone, is from the second half of the 9th century B.C. But no trace of Hebrew writing from the time of Moses, in the second millennium B.C., had been found in Palestine. Bible critics therefore concluded that writing was unknown in Palestine before David's time, and that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch in Hebrew because such a script simply did not exist in his time. If he wrote at all, it was said, he must have used Egyptian hieroglyphs or Babylonian cuneiform.

The Patriarchal Setting. Much effort was expended by the scholarly world to show that the historical and cultural setting in which the patriarchs lived was erroneously depicted in Genesis. In fact, it has been claimed that the men of the first millennium B.C. who wrote down the patriarchal stories used their own conditions as a setting for the

narratives, and by giving many inaccurate details betrayed the fact that they had no knowledge of actual conditions in the patriarchal age. For example, higher critics asserted that the Hebrew writers depict the patriarchs as living in a world regulated by fixed laws and regulations. But such laws, the critics asserted, could not have existed in a primitive society, and mention of them in the Bible clearly shows that stories implying their existence were therefore composed at a later time.

Iron in the Patriarchal Age. That Genesis mentions the existence of iron and workers in iron before the Flood, and that Joshua describes the Canaanites as having chariots of iron in the time of the conquest, was considered by critical scholars as clear evidence that the books containing such statements are of very late origin, since it seemed that iron was not used until the end of the second millennium B.C.

Abraham's Camels. It was also held that the mention of camels in the Abraham narrative is a clear proof of the late origin of Genesis, because, it was maintained, the camel did not come into use before the 12th century B.C.

The Hittites. The Hittites, a people mentioned in different books of the Bible, were also once a target for critical scholars. Hittites were unknown from non-Biblical sources, such as classical Greek authors, and hence were declared to be one of the legendary peoples invented by the writers of the Old Testament.

Philistines in the Patriarchal Age. Mention of the Philistines in the patriarchal stories was also taken as proof that these narratives were of a late origin, since it seemed that the Philistines had not come to Palestine before the 12th century B.C.

Aramaic Words. Aramaic words and phrases in the Pentateuch and other early Old Testament books seemed to prove a late origin for these books, since only very late Aramaic inscriptions and extra-Biblical texts were known during the 19th century A.D.

Place Names. Late place names also seemed to point to the late origin of the books containing them. The city of Dan, for example, is mentioned in Gen. 14 in connection with Abraham's fight against the four Mesopotamian kings. But this city did not receive its name until several centuries after Abraham's death; hence, its occurrence in the book of Genesis was taken as evidence of the late origin of that book. The same argument was applied to city names like Rameses, Hebron, Bethel, and other late place names found in books that, according to traditional belief, were written before these names existed.

The Exodus. The Biblical accounts of Israel's sojourn in Egypt and of the Exodus have constantly been targets of the critical world. A few scholars have denied the sojourn in Egypt as well as the historicity of the Exodus, since these events are not mentioned in any Egyptian records. Others, admitting that the strong tradition about the Exodus must have some historical basis, limit it to a few tribes only, declaring that not all of Jacob's sons had migrated to Egypt. The seven years of famine in Joseph's time have been declared of legendary origin, since it was considered unthinkable that there should have been no normal inundation of the Nile for that length of time. Many other details connected with the Exodus story were likewise relegated to the realm of fiction.

Uniformity of Language. One of the strong arguments in favor of a late origin of the Pentateuch, the uniformity of the Hebrew language throughout the Old Testament, has been stressed by many critics. The reasoning ran thus: If the Pentateuch had been written eight centuries before Isaiah, or nine centuries before Jeremiah, it should reveal linguistic peculiarities in vocabulary, grammar, and syntax that would be markedly different from those found in the extant Pentateuch manuscripts. Some poetical sections like the oracles

of Balaam, the song of Moses, the blessings of Jacob and Moses, which show a more archaic language than the rest of the Pentateuch, have been considered remnants of older source materials taken over by the later writers of the Pentateuch and incorporated into the narrative in appropriate places.

Chronology. Every reader of the Old Testament notes at once the great amount of chronological data. The first impression is that it should be easy to arrive at correct dates, with the help of so much chronological information. However, all who have worked in the field of Biblical chronology know that it proves to be a difficult and often baffling field of study. Generations of scholars have tried their hands on the problems involved, and yet have been unable to harmonize certain apparently conflicting statements. Problems have also arisen between the chronological pattern of the Bible and that of secular historical records.

These difficulties have led most scholars to question seriously the chronological data of the Old Testament. Very few have felt confidence in their accuracy. Old Testament scholars have therefore dealt with them as they pleased—often changing them to fit modern concepts of ancient chronology. As a result, no two scholars have been able to agree on many chronological problems. Most of them have explained the chronological difficulties to be the work of late compilers and editors who used historical sources that they did not understand and that often contradicted one another. This conflicting material, the critics declare, was in some cases incorporated by the editor without any change, while in other cases editorial additions were made. When the editor failed to understand the real issues involved, he succeeded only in making matters worse than they were already.

Historical Reports of the Period of the Kings. No critic doubts that David, Solomon, and other men of the period of the kings are historical figures. But critics in general have little confidence in the accuracy of the stories told of the exploits of these kings. It is pointed out that in the few cases where an event is described in the Bible as well as in other contemporary records, there are always major discrepancies between the two accounts. Since the extra-Biblical records are found in documents written shortly after the events happened, while the Bible texts have been transmitted from generation to generation, often orally, the first-mentioned documents are considered more reliable by the critical historian. Accordingly, these secular sources should be given preference over the Bible as source material in the reconstruction of ancient history.

Sennacherib's Judean campaign serves as a good example of this type of problem, since it is described in detail in three books of the Bible (2 Kings 18; 19; 2 Chron. 32; Isa. 36; 37), and also in contemporary royal records of Assyria. Numerous details differ in the accounts as given by the two nations, the Jews and the Assyrians. The disaster of Sennacherib's army, which plays a prominent part in the Biblical story, is not mentioned at all by the Assyrians. According to the Bible, Hezekiah's tribute was sent to Lachish, but according to Sennacherib's records, to Nineveh. These and other discrepancies are taken by the critics as evidence that the Biblical story was written down at a time when the writer had only a vague notion of what had actually happened, and is therefore inaccurate.

Official Documents. Some books of the Old Testament, such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, contain official decrees. They have often been called spurious by the critics and put on the same level as those found in apocryphal Jewish literature, whose fictitious

character can be demonstrated. These supposed official documents were fabrications of the later writer, it is claimed, to give to the stories in which they are inserted an air of authenticity. Official decrees, it is said by the critics, would not have favored the Jews to the extent described, for example, in Ezra 7:12–26, and hence cannot be accepted as authentic.

Late Criteria in Psalms and Other Hymns. The Psalms and other songs found in the Old Testament have been another constant target of higher critics. Typical of the critical views in regard to this subject is a statement made concerning the time when the Psalms were written:

“The great majority of psalms was presumably written during the assembling of the Psalter, between 400 and 100 B.C. and shortly before, in the fifth century. The real question with regard to the Psalter is not whether it contains Maccabean psalms of the second century, but rather whether any psalms are pre-exilic poems” (Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [New York, 1941], p. 629).

Usually, isolated phrases constitute the only supposed “proof” of late authorship. That the expression “the mountain of thine inheritance,” for instance, occurs in the song of Moses (Ex. 15:17), is taken as evidence that this song was not composed earlier than Solomon’s time, when the Temple was built on Mt. Zion.

Ps. 110 may serve as a typical example of the reason why, according to critics, a “Davidic” psalm should be dated in the Maccabean age. In the first verse the Lord’s pronouncement begins with the Hebrew word *sheb*, “sit.” The *sh* (one letter in Hebrew) of the word *sheb*, taken together with the first letter of v. 2, *m*, the first letter of v. 3, ‘ (*ayin*), and the initial letter of v. 4, *n*, produce the group of consonants *shm’n*, which, with the appropriate vowels, reads *Shime’on*, or Simeon. This name, it is claimed by the critic, must refer to Simon Maccabeus, and therefore Ps. 110 was “the oracle by which Simon Maccabeus was solemnly confirmed in the office of leader and high priest in 141 B.C.” (*ibid.*, p. 630).

Problem of Deutero-Isaiah. For a discussion of this problem see Vol. IV, pp. 84-86.

Late Date of Ezekiel. Until recent years little question was raised regarding the authenticity of the book of Ezekiel. Scholars generally accepted the traditional view that Ezekiel was a Hebrew carried captive to Babylon with Jehoiachin, and that there he composed the prophecies that bear his name. In fact, so settled did many critical scholars consider the traditional date of Ezekiel that they made it a corner post in the radical reconstruction of the priestly materials (see p. 152) of the Pentateuch.

In 1924, however, Gustav Hölscher introduced a new period in the study of Ezekiel by suggesting that in general the only genuine parts of the book were written in poetry. As a result of his extensive study he concluded that less than 170 verses of the entire book were actually the work of Ezekiel. In 1931 C. C. Torrey followed with an even more radical work (*Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930]), concluding that the book is a fiction written in the 3d century B.C.

The most recent major study from this general point of view is that of W. A. Irwin (*The Problem of Ezekiel* [Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1943]). He sees Ezekiel as made up of a nucleus of authentic materials, together with much commentary on these by later writers. He seeks to separate genuine from spurious materials by a comparison of

the phrases that introduce different sections of the book, and by an elaborate analysis of literary style. He identifies certain passages as later commentary on other passages because he sees them as misinterpretations of what Ezekiel actually wrote. Irwin concludes, "The material which we possess from the prophet Ezekiel constitutes rather less than 25 per cent of the bulk of the first thirty-nine chapters of his book" (*ibid.*, p. 283). He believes that the genuine nucleus was written in Palestine, that later editors worked probably not only there but also in Babylon and Egypt, and that the whole book was assembled in its present form in Hellenistic times.

Maccabean Dating of Daniel. For a discussion of the critical problems of the book of Daniel see Vol. IV, pp. 746-750, 814-817.

Consideration of Higher Critical Arguments.—Some of the most important arguments offered by higher critics have been presented above. A consideration of these major arguments is now in order—it is not necessary to examine the many minor points of evidence that are used to support the critical point of view.

The Divine Names. The theories built on the occurrence of different divine names in the Old Testament books have formed the basis of all higher Bible criticism, and are still considered its main pillars. Conservative scholars have long pointed to the lack of any valid reason for the assertion that the different divine names in the Old Testament are evidence of multiple authorship. Ancient versions such as the LXX show that the Hebrew text from which they were translated seems to have had divine names that differ, in many instances, from those found in the Masoretic text (see Vol. I, pp. 34-36). The Hebrew word *'Elohim* is generally represented in the LXX by the Greek word *Theos*, "God," and *Yahweh* by the Greek *Kurios*, "Lord." But in many instances the word *Kurios* is found in passages where the present Hebrew text has *'Elohim*, and *Theos* appears where the Hebrew text has *Yahweh*. This observation leads conservative scholars to the conclusion that the divine names *'Elohim*, *Yahweh*, and *'Adonai* (which the LXX also renders as *Kurios*) were formerly used as interchangeably as the names "God" and "Lord" are today. Consequently, no particular significance can be attached to the use of a particular divine name in any given passage.

This theory proposed by conservative scholars was proved correct for the first time by a Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah. Discovery of a complete manuscript of a major book of the Old Testament produced in the 2d century B.C. (see Vol. I, p. 31 ff.) made it possible to determine whether the Masoretic text as we have it today (from the 9th century A.D.) is or is not consistent in retaining the divine names as they appeared in manuscripts a millennium closer to the originals, or whether the various terms are used more or less interchangeably. An examination of the text of the complete Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah revealed that this ancient Hebrew Bible manuscript (1QIs) differs from the Masoretic rendering of the different divine names in 16 passages. This is conclusive evidence that these names provide no basis whatever for determining authorship. And inasmuch as the edifice of higher criticism has been built upon the varying usage of the divine names, the entire structure is left suspended like a mirage on the tremulous horizon of the arid desert of skepticism. The following list presents the differences in the use of the divine names between this Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah and the Masoretic text a millennium later:

Dead Sea	Masoretic	References
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Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa)	Hebrew Text	
'Adonai	Yahweh	Isa. 3:17; 38:14.
Yahweh	'Adonai	Isa. 6:11; 7:14; 9:7; 21:16; 28:2.
'Elohim	Yahweh	Isa. 40:7; 42:5; 50:5.
Yahweh	'Adonai Yahweh	Isa. 28:22; 49:22; 52:4; 61:1.
Yahweh	'Adonai Yahweh	Isa. 61:11.
'Elohim		
Yahweh	'Elohim	Isa. 25:9.
'Elohim		

This tabulation shows that in 16 Isaiah texts there are differences in the divine names used, between this Dead Sea scroll and the Masoretic text. The fallacy of basing a hypothesis on the occurrence of certain divine names in the existing Hebrew text is clear. Furthermore, the conservative view, that the three divine names were used more or less interchangeably throughout the Old Testament, is vindicated. There could be no more eloquent testimony to the fundamental inaccuracy of the methods followed by higher critics and of the unreliability of their dogmatic conclusions. Even if there were no evidence but this, their position would be left completely untenable.

The Flood Story Not Borrowed From the Babylonians. Similarities between the Biblical and Babylonian accounts of the Flood are obvious, but these similarities do not constitute proof that the writer of Genesis borrowed his story from the Babylonians. There are also great differences between the two stories. While Noah, the “preacher of righteousness,” proclaimed a message of warning to his fellow men and doubtless bent every effort to convert and save his contemporaries, the Babylonian Noah—whose name, Ut-napishtim, bears no resemblance to that of Noah—was commissioned to deceive his fellow citizens in order to prevent them from also building ships and saving themselves.

Again, the Bible describes the Flood as a righteous punishment upon the wicked antediluvians, whereas the Babylonian story gives the impression that the cataclysm was due to a whim of the gods. It states that their “heart led” them “to produce the flood,” yet when its destructive results were seen they became so “frightened by the deluge” that they, “shrinking back, ascended to the heaven of Anu,” “cowered” there “like dogs,” and “crouched against the outer wall.” One of them, the goddess “Ishtar, cried out like a woman in travail,” and regretted deeply having spoken “evil in the assembly of the gods, ordering battle for the destruction of my people.” Though the similarities point to a common origin, these differences, typical of many found in the two stories, show clearly that the Biblical account has preserved a purer account, infinitely more elevated, moral, logical, and consistent with itself than its Babylonian counterpart. In view of the fact that historical facts generally suffer adulteration—rather than purification—during the process of transmission, it is far more reasonable to consider the obviously inferior Babylonian account a perversion of the original as represented by Genesis. The very existence of the Babylonian story is, nevertheless, excellent testimony to the historicity of the Deluge.

Since the Babylonian Flood story was discovered, scholars have found many similar stories preserved by the various peoples of earth, on every continent and many islands of the sea. The ancient Egyptians knew of the story. The memory of a great Flood survives among the Eskimos; the Indians of Central America; the most southern inhabitants of South America; the Iranians; the people of India, China, and Central Asia; and the islanders of the Pacific. Although the various accounts show differences, because of long,

and in many cases oral, transmission, most of them agree in several important points, as for example that the catastrophe was universal, that only a few were saved, and that an ark was provided.

The existence of numerous stories about a universal flood among both ancient and modern peoples strongly implies the historicity of this event. The Babylonian Flood story is therefore only one of many that have kept alive the memory of this, the greatest of all catastrophes to fall upon our world. That it is more similar to the Bible story than any other account of the Flood is due to the fact that it comes from the very region where the ark landed and the human race again took root. Once the historicity of the Flood is granted, there is no longer any basis for the assumption that the Jews borrowed the story from the Babylonians, for the argument that the author of Genesis borrowed his story from other sources is based on the assumption that it is a legend and not a historical account.

Geology itself provides further concrete evidence of the universal extent of the Deluge. The fossil remains of plants and animals are found distributed over practically the entire surface of the earth. These remains always occur in stratified rock deposits, which, almost without exception, were deposited in their present position by water—often obviously by waters in violent motion. The universal distribution of these remains and the depth of their burial testify unmistakably to both the worldwide extent and the terrific violence of the Noachian Deluge. The evidence of the rocks and the fossils they contain is mute but eloquent testimony to the fact that plant and animal life on this earth was once obliterated by a flood. No other theory offers a consistent and credible explanation of all the observed geological facts. See Vol. I, pp. 70-97.

Moses Could Have Written the Pentateuch. When the claim was first made by the Wellhausen school that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch in Hebrew, since that language had not been reduced to writing in the second millennium B.C., no Hebrew inscriptions or manuscripts were known earlier than the Moabite Stone of the 9th century B.C. Then came the phenomenal discovery of the Amarna tablets, in 1887, hundreds of letters written by Palestinian, Syrian, and other Asiatic rulers to the Egyptian Pharaoh. They date from the 14th century B.C., the time of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua and the elders. It became clear at once that writing was in wide use during the period of the Exodus, when Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

Rudolf Kittel, editor, of the famous Hebrew Bible bearing his name, wrote a *History of the Hebrews* in 1888, 10 years after Wellhausen's first epoch-making *History of Israel*. Kittel, although far from being a conservative, opposed the Wellhausen theory that the history of Israel prior to Saul's and David's kingships lay in impenetrable darkness and that no trace exists of a pre-Davidic literature. In opposition to Wellhausen he claimed that the Hebrew tradition as preserved in the earliest books of the Bible deserves more respect than is commonly given them. When Kittel presented the first copy of his work to the famous Professor Kautzsch, expecting from him a favorable recommendation to be used for publicity purposes, Kautzsch declined, after leafing through the book, with the comment, "I am very sorry, but we are farther advanced since Wellhausen."

Shortly after this incident the discovery of the Amarna archive, already referred to, revealed that the Canaanites did, indeed, have a rich literature, that writing was widespread in the time of Moses, and that the historical and cultural conditions of that time agree to an amazing extent with those described in the Pentateuch. In describing this

discovery Kittel points out the reluctance of critics to accept the evidence of new information and to abandon theories consequently proved to be erroneous:

“One would think that after 1890 Wellhausen, Stade, and the formidable number of second-and third-rank scholars, who dealt with the history of Israel, would make use of the new evidence. But nothing of the kind happened—a proof of the difficulty with which men change their views or are willing to increase their learning beyond a certain limit. Wellhausen and Stade have never retracted any of their theories, and the others have written their books, mostly according to the scheme given by Wellhausen, as if nothing had happened. It was not until the Code of Hammurabi was found, and the unfortunate Babel-Bible quarrel had passed, that minds were slowly convinced a new era had dawned” (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 7th ed. [Stuttgart, 1925], p. x, author’s translation).

The advocates of higher criticism have repeatedly claimed that only scholastic honesty has brought them to the conclusions they hold with regard to the Bible. Wellhausen said once that “if it [the Israelite tradition] were only possible, it would be folly to prefer any other possibility” (*Komposition des Hexateuch* [1885], p. 346). However, the attitude of many critics toward the credibility of the Bible changed very little even when archeological discoveries proved their theories untenable, as clearly stated in Kittel’s statement quoted previously. This fact reveals clearly that scholars themselves are not exempt from the human weakness of disliking to retreat from a position once taken. Scholars are human, and, like other people, do not like to see their work disproved, discredited, and discarded. Hence, occasionally, they cling to outmoded theories, forgetful that intellectual honesty should lead them to be the first in confessing the error of their theories and admitting the truth of the Bible record.

As already noted, the Amarna Letters disproved the claim that there was little writing outside of Egypt and Mesopotamia in the middle of the second millennium B.C. However, all these documents were written in Babylonian cuneiform and provided no evidence that Moses could have written his books in an alphabetic Hebrew script such as that in which the Pentateuch has come down to us. But the fact that such a script was available to him was not long in coming to light.

In 1904–5 Sir Flinders Petrie discovered numerous inscriptions in the Egyptian copper mines on Sinai, written in an unknown script. When deciphered by Gardiner, Cowley, Sethe, and others, from 1916 on, they turned out to be written in the earliest alphabetic Hebrew script known, a script invented at Sinai by Canaanite or Edomite miners during the 15th or 16th century B.C., immediately prior to the time of Moses. Many inscriptions in the same proto-Semitic script have since been unearthed in Palestine, at such sites as Lachish, *Tell el-Hesi*, Shechem, Megiddo, Beth-shemesh, etc. These inscriptions all date from the second millennium B.C., and reveal that Canaanite alphabetic writing—practically identical with Hebrew—was widespread in the time of Moses. This discovery left the critics, who base their theory of a late origin for the Pentateuch primarily on the argument that there was no Hebrew writing in Moses’ time, without a shred of evidence for their contention.

Environment of Patriarchal Age Correctly Depicted in Genesis. The oft-repeated claim that the cultural, historical, and geographical setting in which the patriarchs lived was different from that described in Genesis was never based on evidence, but only on a presumption elevated to the rank of dogmatic assertion. The same is true of the fictitious

claim that the legal material of the Pentateuch exhibits a stage of social development that did not exist before the first millennium B.C. Discovery of the Code of Hammurabi and of other law codes from even earlier times has proved that laws strikingly similar to those of Moses were widely known during the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. (see Vol. I, pp. 616-619). Furthermore, tablets and inscriptions from Nuzi, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere make evident that the social and cultural conditions of patriarchal times were precisely those met in the Biblical stories (see on Gen. 11:31; 12:16; 14:1; 15:2; 16:16; 19:24; 23:3, 11; 24:10; 30:9; 31:47; 37:36; 38:24; etc.).

Honest scholars express surprise when archeological discoveries show remarkable agreement between ancient records coming from the patriarchal period and stories about the patriarchs in the Bible. Prof. Alfred Jeremias, a pronounced critic, was led to make the following admission:

“The *milieu* [setting] of the stories of the Patriarchs agrees in every detail with the circumstances of Ancient-Oriental civilization of the period in question, as borne witness to by the monuments. ... Wellhausen worked out from the opinion that the stories of the Patriarchs are historically impossible. It is now proved that they are possible. If Abraham lived at all, it could only have been in surroundings and under conditions such as the Bible describes” (*The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East* [New York, 1911], vol. 2, p. 45).

Many similar testimonies might be quoted. As to this significant change of attitude on the part of critics, the celebrated American Orientalist W. F. Albright wrote:

“Eminent names among scholars can be cited for regarding every item of Gen. 11–50 as reflecting late invention, or at least retrojection of events and conditions under the Monarchy into the remote past, about which nothing was thought to have been really known to the writers of later days.

“The archaeological discoveries of the past generation have changed all this. Aside from a few die-hards among older scholars, there is scarcely a single biblical historian who has not been impressed by the rapid accumulation of data supporting the substantial historicity of patriarchal tradition” (“The Biblical Period,” *The Jews; Their History, Culture and Religion* [New York, 1949], p. 3).

Archeological discoveries have thus proved wholly wrong the view that the writer of Genesis was unfamiliar with the conditions of patriarchal times. In the very field where critical scholarship once appeared to win its greatest triumphs it has now suffered its most significant defeat. Were he alive, intellectual honesty would compel Wellhausen, the patron saint of higher criticism, to recant his indictment of the Old Testament (see also Vol. I, p. 100).

The Use of Iron in the Patriarchal Age. Even scholars who admitted that the environment of the patriarchal period is correctly depicted in the Pentateuch took exception to the mention of iron in Gen. 4:22; Deut. 3:11; etc. These texts were considered anachronistic, since an extensive use of iron before the 12th century B.C. was not generally admitted in the world of metallurgical experts. However, iron objects have been recovered from Egyptian tombs of the predynastic period, and iron tools have been found embedded in the masonry of the Pyramid of Cheops and the pyramid temple of Menkure (Mycerinos), both of the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty (commonly dated by Egyptologists as c. 2500 B.C.). Iron objects have also been discovered in tombs of the Sixth, Eleventh, and Eighteenth Dynasties (c. 2200, 2000, and 1500 B.C. respectively). In

Mesopotamia the ruins of Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Asmar, and Mari have produced iron implements made in the third millennium, thus furnishing evidence that iron was produced in the earliest periods of history. Moreover, texts of the time of Hammurabi (18th century B.C.) and the Amarna Letters (14th century B.C.) provide literary evidence for the use of iron in the patriarchal age and in the time of Moses, in both Mesopotamia and Egypt. This is conclusive evidence that iron was known and used long before the time of Moses, and that statements in the Pentateuch about the early use of iron agree with known facts.

The Patriarchs Possessed Camels. According to Gen. 24:10, Abraham possessed camels. They were also found in Egypt during his time (Gen. 12:16). But modern scholars would have us believe that one of “of the most obvious errors” of the books containing the passages of Gen. 12:16 and Ex. 9:3 is “the assumption that camels were used in Egypt in ancient times” (Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [New York, 1941], p. 154).

It is true that according to currently available evidence the domesticated camel cannot have been widely used in the third and second millenniums B.C. But there is clear evidence that it was used at times as a beast of burden in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, not only during the patriarchal period, but even earlier, as the following brief survey of the evidence will show.

A predynastic tomb at Abusir el-Meleg and one of the First Dynasty at Abydos in Egypt brought to light clay figurines of camels. A rope made of camel’s hair was found in a Third or Fourth Dynasty setting in the Faiyûm, and another figurine of a camel came from the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1300 B.C.) at Rifeh. This evidence clearly implies that the camel was known as a beast of burden in Egypt during the third and second millenniums B.C.

From Mesopotamia come pictorial representations of the camel, in the form of figurines or on seals, from the very earliest historical period of Erech, from the Ur III level at Eshnunna (c. 2000 B.C.), and elsewhere, from the middle of the second millennium B.C. One 18th-century figurine of a camel was found at Byblos in Syria, and one of the 15th century at Gezer in Palestine. All these representations found in various countries of the ancient Near East attest the use of the camel throughout those lands during the patriarchal period.

Early Hittites. Although the Hittites appear frequently in the Biblical narrative, they are never mentioned in classical sources. They had disappeared so completely from secular history that less than 100 years ago critics of the Bible boldly stated that they had never existed. However, the discoveries of the last 50 years have entirely changed this situation. Today it is known that the Hittites were a great nation during early Old Testament times, and that their influence and power extended over great parts of Asia Minor and Syria.

The increase of knowledge concerning the Hittites is apparent from a comparison of the length of articles devoted to this nation in various editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The article on the Hittites in the eighth edition (1860) consisted of only eighth single-column lines, whereas in a current edition (1947) ten full pages of two columns each are devoted to a description of their history, culture, and religion.

It has been found, from archeology, that legal procedures implicit in the account of Abraham’s purchase of Machpelah from the children of Heth, or Hittites, were

specifically those of the Hittites (see on Gen. 23:3, 11). It is becoming more and more evident that even the earliest references to Hittites in the patriarchal age are not anachronisms. Archeology has resurrected the ancient Hittites, and thereby corroborated the Bible record in a most remarkable way.

Philistines in the Patriarchal Age. It is true that a great wave of Philistines came to Palestine together with other “Peoples of the Sea” in the 12th century B.C., during the reign of Ramses III. This was several centuries after the patriarchal age, during which time, according to the Pentateuchal records, Philistines were already living in southwestern Palestine. Since the Philistines do not appear in Egyptian records preceding the 12th century, their mention in the early books of the Bible was considered evidence of late authorship.

However, like the long-forgotten Hittites, the early Philistines are beginning to experience a historical resurrection. Conservative Biblical scholars have waited long and patiently for evidence of the presence of the Philistines in Palestine during the patriarchal age. Then, since 1929, the first traces of such evidence have come to light. In the alphabetic texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamrah), dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C., two to three centuries before the invasion of the “Peoples of the Sea” during the reign of Ramses III, Philistines are mentioned. These Philistines known to the scribes of Ugarit are so far the earliest ones encountered in extra-Biblical sources, but they do prove the existence of some Philistines in the region of Syria-Palestine before the great migration of peoples that brought great numbers of Philistines to Palestine.

Other evidence for the existence of early Philistines is the discovery of Cretan pottery in the layers of ruined Palestinian cities of the patriarchal age. It is known that the Philistines came to Palestine from Crete, a historical fact revealed by both Biblical (Crete-Caphtor, Jer. 47:4; Amos 9:7; see also on Gen. 10:14) and archeological evidence, to which island they had come in earlier times and may have destroyed the old Minoan civilization. Cretan pottery in Palestine during the patriarchal age is therefore an indirect evidence for the presence of Cretans, probably Philistines, in Palestine. In the Bible the Cretans are grouped with the Philistines, as in the bodyguard of David, which consisted of Cherethites and Pelethites—Cretans and Philistines—(2 Sam. 8:18; 15:18; etc.). The same relationship is evident from Zeph. 2:4, 5.

Although evidence for the presence of Philistines in patriarchal Canaan is limited, enough has come to light to show that some had migrated from Crete long before the time of Ramses III. Some of them had settled in the region of Gerar in the time of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. 21:34; 26:1), though not in great numbers. This probably accounts for their readiness to make treaties with these powerful patriarchs (see Gen. 21:22–24; 26:26–28). By the time of the later judges, however, successive migrations had occurred and the Philistines had become sufficiently strong to oppress the Israelites, posing a serious threat to their independent existence. The Bible and archeology are thus in agreement that some Philistines had settled in Canaan prior to the 12th century B.C., and that after that time they became both numerous and powerful.

Aramaic Words No Proof for Late Date. When the earliest Aramaic texts and inscriptions known were those of the 8th or 9th century B.C. and no extra-Biblical information was available on Aramaeans during the patriarchal age, it was boldly claimed by critics that Aramaic words in the Pentateuch (see on Gen. 31:47) and the mention of Aramaeans, or Syrians (Gen. 25:20; Deut. 26:5; etc.), prove the late origin of these

records. Today no conscientious scholar presumes to offer this argument against the authenticity of the Bible. The north-Canaanite texts of Ugarit, written in the middle of the second millennium B.C., about the time of the Exodus, contain various Aramaic words and expressions, revealing the fact that Aramaeans had penetrated Syria by that time.

One example of the early occurrence of Canaanite (a language nearly identical with Hebrew) and Aramaic words in extra-Biblical texts will suffice. This example is especially important because it also proves the Hebrew text of Psalms 2 correct—a passage on which every critical scholar dealing with the Psalms has made some textual “corrections.” In a letter from Ugarit (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* [Rome, 1947], no. 138) the expression “my son” is used twice, in line 3 in Aramaic, *bari*, but in line 16 in Hebrew, *beni*. Like other Ugaritic texts, this letter proves, in the first place, the existence of an Aramaic vocabulary in the time of the Exodus, when this letter was written, and second, that Aramaic and Hebrew words were used side by side in the same text.

Ps. 2 also contains these identical Hebrew and Aramaic words. Critics have declared that it is highly improbable, if not impossible, that in the original text of the Psalms the word “son” should have been expressed by two different words, Heb. *ben*, in v. 7, and Aramaic *bar*, in v. 12. Hence they emended, or corrected, the text in such a way as to dispose of *bar*. However, the Ugaritic text, much shorter than Psalms 2 and written several centuries earlier, shows the same use of the same Hebrew and Aramaic words side by side. This example, which could be multiplied by other illustrations, shows clearly that the occurrence of Aramaic words, or even entire sections, as in the book of Ezra, is no proof whatever of a late origin.

The Aramaeans are likewise mentioned in extra-Biblical text of the middle of the second millennium B.C. They appear in the Amarna Letters under their cuneiform name *Achlame*, and from that time onward in unbroken sequence in the historical documents of the ancient world. Their occurrence in connection with the Pentateuchal record is therefore in complete harmony with what is known about them from contemporary records.

Late Place Names No Proof of Late Origin. It cannot be denied that place names are found in the Pentateuch which did not exist in the time of Moses. The city of Dan is mentioned in Gen. 14:14 and Deut. 34:1, although its name was Leshem, or Laish, until the time of the judges (Joshua 19:47; Judges 18:29), when the Danites conquered the city and gave to it the name of their illustrious ancestor. In Genesis the land of Goshen is once called “the land of Rameses” (Gen. 47:11), a name not applied to that region until four centuries after Jacob settled there, or two centuries after Moses penned the narrative. The same may be said of other late names (see on Gen. 32:28; Ex. 1:11; etc.).

However, the occurrence of such late place names is by no means a proof that the books containing them were not written earlier. All the Old Testament has come down to us in copies and copies of copies. Later copyists have simply exchanged obsolete names for current ones, so that readers might be able to recognize the cities of which the text spoke. This procedure is comparable to that of a modern reviser of the Bible who revises the outmoded expressions of former editions (see below under *Uniformity of Language*).

The Exodus a Historical Fact. It is true that no extant Egyptian records specifically mention the Israelites either during the time of their sojourn or at the Exodus. This, however, is not at all strange in view of the fact that the Egyptians, like other ancient peoples, usually omitted from their official records any mention of events unfavorable to them. Of the Hyksos period, when for more than a century Egypt was ruled by Semitic and Hurrian foreigners, hardly any contemporary Egyptian records have been found. Even those Egyptian kings who liberated the country from Hyksos rule were silent concerning them, though they had every reason to be proud of their achievement. If it were not for the tomb inscription of an army officer who took part in the war of liberation, which mentions a few important facts about the different campaigns against the Hyksos, we would have to depend almost completely on later semilegendary stories and the incomplete list of Hyksos kings. As it is, we have pitifully little source material with which to reconstruct the history of that important period of ancient Egyptian history in which, most likely, Joseph was prime minister of Egypt and in which Jacob's family settled in Goshen.

Although the seven-year famine of Joseph's time has not been attested by Egyptian records, another, earlier, famine of seven years is recorded in Egyptian documents. Since this document has been discovered, the critics' claim that a seven-year drought was incredible stand exposed as false.

Because archeological discoveries now prove that many details of the Exodus in the Biblical narrative reveal an intimate knowledge of Egyptian life and culture, and because the whole account corresponds so exactly with the known history of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the Exodus seems to have taken place, no valid doubt concerning the historicity of that great event can longer be entertained. Few and feeble indeed are the voices of critics that now deny the Exodus, though there is still considerable difference of opinion as to the time. The event has been variously assigned to the 17th, 16th, 15th, and 13th centuries. Critical scholars tend to prefer the latter, though some of them believe that two such movements occurred, one in the 15th, the other in the 13th, century, and that later the records of both were combined into one story. Space does not permit a discussion of these differences (see on Gen. 21:32). It is sufficient to state that the findings of more than 100 years have convinced scholars that the Exodus must be considered a historical fact. The conservative student of the Bible has witnessed with great satisfaction the current trend toward a more positive attitude on the record of Israel's sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus.

Uniformity of Language. Every student of the Hebrew Bible notices that no great linguistic differences occur in the historical books of the Old Testament. However, this fact is no proof that all these books were composed in a comparatively short period of time, as the higher critics have claimed.

Conservative scholars have attempted to explain this fact by assuming that uniformity of language was achieved by later recensions, or revisions, to bring the vocabulary, grammar, and orthography into harmony with the standards of later times. This work of revision ceased, the conservative assumed, shortly after the Exile when the Old Testament canon was fixed. They also claimed that the poetic parts of the Bible show a more archaic form because poetry has a greater tendency to withstand modernization in spelling, style, and diction than does prose. As long as no ancient Hebrew manuscripts

were available these assumptions could not be proved, and the views of conservatives in this regard were as hypothetical as those of the critics.

The discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls (see Vol. IV, pp. 86-88) has brought about a remarkable change in this situation. For the first time in modern history we are now able to examine Hebrew Bible manuscripts 1,000 years or so older than the most ancient ones previously known. In some instances we are even so fortunate as to have fragments from several copies of the same Bible books. More important yet, a complete scroll of Isaiah is now available, and another in fragmentary form (both now at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem).

These various copies of Bible books represent successive stages of revision. These incomplete Isaiah scroll (1QIs) from Qumrân Cave I is almost identical with the Masoretic text, found in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the complete Isaiah scroll (1QIs) from the same cave, shows the so-called *plene* writing, that is, the insertion of various letters as aids to pronunciation, and the use of consonants to indicate vowels. This difference constitutes evidence that a certain Hebrew library in the time of Christ possessed two different copies of Isaiah, one representing an earlier stage of spelling and grammatical revision than the other. It is thus unmistakable that copyists spelled words according to current rules of spelling—which changed from time to time—much as English spelling has changed through the centuries. By way of comparison, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, written in the vicinity of 600 years ago, are completely unintelligible to the average reader unless modern spelling and in some cases modern words are used. The same is true to a less extent of many passages from Spenser and Shakespeare, who wrote about 400 years ago. Even the English of American Colonial times is often obscure, chiefly because of archaic spelling. It is therefore certain that the present form of the Hebrew Bible text represents only its latest revision in spelling, grammar, etc., and in no way proves an early or late authorship. The date must be determined on the basis of other evidence.

It would be foolish to say that Isaiah was not written earlier than the 2d century B.C., because our earliest text of that book shows a type of spelling in use during the 2d century. It is also untenable to use the present form of the Hebrew text of any Bible book to establish the date of its original writing.

Chronology Confirms Accuracy of Bible. Generations of scholars have puzzled over the chronological data of the Bible, and have felt that every effort to bring harmony out of what seemed a chronological chaos was doomed to defeat. How could one harmonize Daniel's statement that he had been taken captive by King Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim (Daniel 1:1), with that of Jeremiah, who says that Nebuchadnezzar's first year was Jehoiakim's fourth (Jer. 25:1, 2)? Archeology has solved the problem by showing that Assyrian and Babylonian kings did not count the calendar year of their accession as their first regnal year, but labeled it "accession year." It was only with the following New Year's Day that they began their "first" year. Hence, Daniel's statement that he was taken captive in the third year of Jehoiakim, which was—as we now know—Nebuchadnezzar's accession year, and Jeremiah's statement equating Nebuchadnezzar's first regnal year with the fourth of Jehoiakim (according to Jewish reckoning), are equally correct. This is but one of many examples where archeological evidence has furnished the solution to apparently contradictory chronological statements of the Bible.

Another alleged Biblical contradiction is equally easy of solution. The chronological data of the Bible make it certain that Jehoram of Judah was associated on the throne for some years with his father Jehoshaphat. 2 Kings 3:1 dates the accession of the Israelite king Jehoram in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat, while 2 Kings 1:17 dates the same event in the 2d year of Jehoram of Judah, meaning apparently his 2d year as a coregent. Hence, the 18th year of Jehoshaphat was the 2d year of his son's coregency. Instead of being in disagreement, the two texts provide important data for establishing the length of the coregency of Jehoram with Jehoshaphat.

The documents preserved in the sands of Assyria and Babylonia provide accurate dates for many events of secular history beginning with about 1000 B.C. Dates thus established have been most helpful in fixing Bible chronology on a secure foundation. The increased knowledge of ancient calendars, methods of reckoning the years of a king's reign, and different systems of computation in regard to ancient events have solved many perplexing problems. This has enabled us to reconstruct the chronological framework of the Bible without discarding any data as unreliable, as the critics have done. We see now a harmonious chronological pattern where before only chaos was apparent. There remain a few baffling chronological statements for which no satisfactory answer can as yet be given, but the overwhelming majority of the chronological data no longer pose any problem whatever. Once again archeological evidence has provided the key to an understanding of ancient systems which were previously unknown. It has proved that the authors of the books of the Bible knew whereof they wrote and did not give us erroneous information. Rather, it was the critics who erred in criticizing what their limited knowledge and even more limited wisdom and skill were inadequate to deal with.

The words of one critical scholar are significant in this respect. W. A. Irwin, sometime professor of Old Testament of the University of Chicago, wrote in the foreword to E. R. Thiele's *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago, 1951) the following remarkably frank admission:

"The astonishing fact is that he demonstrates conclusively the precise and dependable accuracy of Hebrew chronology of the times of the kingdoms" (p. xiv).

"He has taken passages commonly regarded as patent disclosures of carelessness, if not of ignorance, on the part of the Hebrew historians, and has shown them to be astonishingly reliable. It is an achievement of far-reaching significance. We have, it is true, come some distance from the radical criticism of half a century ago. In treatment of the text and in appraisal of the historic reliability of the records we are in a much more cautious mood, as we have seen at one uncertain point after another our skepticism dissipate under new-found facts. But yet many uncertainties remain. And it is a matter of first rate importance to learn now that the Books of Kings are reliable in precisely that feature which formerly excited only derision" (pp. xvi, xvii).

What is said here of the accuracy of Biblical chronology with regard to the period of the kings is equally true with regard to other periods, although, because of a lack of clear extra-Biblical evidence, it is not yet possible to offer conclusive proof of every detail. Nevertheless, the dry figures of chronological data have contributed significantly in establishing the reliability of the Old Testament.

Historical Reports Are Reliable. Wherever the counterpart of a Biblical story occurs in an extra-Biblical document, there are, naturally, differences between the two accounts.

Critical scholars usually have more confidence in the secular source and declare the Bible story as of secondary value. An unbiased examination, however, leads to an entirely different conclusion. The Bible narratives bear the stamp of truthfulness in that they record the weak as well as the strong character traits of their heroes, and the defeats as well as the victories of their own nation. This no other ancient nation did. Outstanding examples of the freedom with which the Bible records sin are the cases of David, Israel's greatest king, of Solomon, and even of the nation's most revered patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob.

A study of the records of other ancient nations in this respect is most revealing. The Egyptian records never mention any defects of their legitimate kings, never tell about a defeat of their own army. Their battle pictures and reliefs depict numberless fallen, wounded, and mutilated enemies, but never a single Egyptian casualty. The same observation can be made in regard to the records that have come to us from ancient Mesopotamia. The Assyriologist Otto Weber has stated this fact in the following words:

"All official history-writing of the Assyrians culminates in extravagant praise of the king, and has as its only purpose to hand down to posterity this praise. . . . It is evident that the credibility of the royal inscriptions under these circumstances must be looked upon with suspicion. In not one royal Assyrian inscription is failure admitted in plain words; but we do have instances in which an obvious defeat has been transformed by the accommodating history writer into a brilliant victory. It was customary in most cases to skip silently over undertakings of which the king had no reason to be proud" (*Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* [Leipzig, 1907], pp. 227, 228).

How unbiased the Biblical records are, in contrast to those contained in the historical writings of Israel's neighbors, is evident. A defeat is never denied by Biblical writers; a victory, not exaggerated. Causes of disasters are openly discussed, national shame is never concealed, and mistakes are mercilessly rebuked. What other nation, ancient or modern, measures up to this high level of truthful reporting? The more the records of ancient nations are studied, the more those of the Bible demand respect (see Vol. I, p. 100).

For example, take the Biblical story of Sennacherib's Judean campaign, mentioned on p. 157 as an example of the arguments of critics. Sennacherib's claim to having besieged Hezekiah in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage is true—a fact mentioned also in the Bible. That the Assyrian king, however, does not claim to have captured either Jerusalem or Hezekiah is a significant fact. The royal scribe passed over the disaster in silence. No Assyrian king would have been humble enough to mention it, and none of his scribes would have dared to record it. Yet this silence on the part of the Assyrians does not make their defeat less real. The various other apparent discrepancies between the two records, Assyrian and Jewish, are to be understood similarly.

This example, to which many others could be added, shows that Biblical records deserve pre-eminent credit as faithful witnesses to the events narrated. This fact has, in recent years, been recognized by an increasing number of critical scholars. However, these scholars assign credit for this conservative trend to the labors of the higher critics, as the following quotation from the celebrated Old Testament scholar H. H. Rowley shows:

"In general, it may be said that there has been a tendency towards more conservative views on many questions than were common at the opening of our period. These more

conservative views are not shared by all scholars, though they are widespread, and any assessment of the position today is bound to give prominence to them. They are hailed sometimes as evidence of the failure of critical scholarship, and as the justification of the older conservatism that has been mentioned. This is quite inaccurate and misleading. For they are reached by the critical method, and hence must be accounted among its fruits. On the other hand, their conservatism is both other and firmer than the older conservatism, just because it is critically, and not dogmatically, based, and because it is built squarely on the evidence, instead of merely using the evidence as a support where it is convenient, and explaining it away where it is not.” (*The Old Testament and Modern Study* [Oxford, 1951] pp. xvii, xviii).

Conservative Christians naturally rejoice that the vast array of archeological evidence confirms and vindicates their faith in the trustworthiness of God’s Word. One by one the dogmatic assertions of many of the higher critics have been answered by facts that intellectual honesty and their own rules of logic compel them to accept. Conservative Bible scholarship has sought to warn against such assertions, based as they were on an unproved, and now thoroughly discredited, theory. Higher critics are to be commended for their objective attitude toward the new evidence, which logically should lead them on to confidence in the Scriptures as the inspired Word of God.

Official Documents Are Genuine. The documents interspersed in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther have generally been rejected by critical scholars as being of an apocryphal or fictitious nature. However, even before their authenticity could be demonstrated by archeological evidence, a few discerning scholars pointed out the fact that these documents possessed all the marks of genuineness. The great historian Eduard Meyer wrote in 1896 that these documents are an accurate reflection of conditions in the Persian Empire, and agree completely with what is known about the institutions and history of that period. He said also that should Persian government decrees ever be found, arguments higher critics had raised against the authenticity of the Biblical documents would vanish.

This implied hope was fulfilled unexpectedly by the discovery of Aramaic papyri on the Nile island of Elephantine in Upper Egypt, beginning in 1903. Here were documents written in the same language as portions of Daniel and Ezra. Coming from a Jewish colony and written in the 5th century, when Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah lived, the documents found at Elephantine provided information of great value in clarifying Biblical history of that time. These papyri contain official letters written to Persian officers, and even a copy of a royal decree dealing with regulations touching the Jewish Passover. The latter document confirms the authenticity of similar decrees inserted in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. The distinguished Orientalist A. Cowley, who edited these papyri, made the following statements in regard to the importance of Elephantine Papyrus 21 as related to the Persian decrees recorded in the Bible:

“What has hitherto seemed incredible is that they [the Persian kings] should have concerned themselves with detail of ceremonial, as in the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7, but the present papyrus (and the style of other letters in this collection) removes all reason for doubting the genuineness of the Persian letters in Ezra” (*Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* [Oxford, 1923], p. 62).

“Various reasons may have induced the Great King to intervene in the religious affairs of an obscure settlement [the Jewish colony in Elephantine], but whatever they

were, the case is exactly parallel to that of the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7¹²⁺, and shows that we need not doubt the authenticity of the latter document. The similarity of the style of the letter in Ezra to that of texts in this collection is striking" (*ibid.*, pp. xxiv, xxv).

Who would have thought that a contemporary copy of an official Persian decree dealing with Jewish religious regulations would ever be found? Yet the sands of Egypt, strangely enough, have preserved this very thing, which now corroborates the authenticity of several passages in the Sacred Word of God.

No Maccabean Psalms in the Psalter. Perhaps the titles of 116 of the 150 psalms did not all originate with their authors, but they are very ancient. In fact, they were already old when the LXX was produced in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. This can be seen from the fact that many of the musical terms used in these headings were no longer understood by the translators of this ancient version.

According to the Hebrew titles of the psalms, 73 of the 150 hymns bear the name of David as their author. The oldest one, Ps. 90, was composed by Moses in the 15th century B.C., the latest ones, Ps. 126 and 137, after the Exile, probably in the late 6th century B.C. No convincing evidence for a late date is found elsewhere in the Psalms.

The arguments put forth by critics by which, for example, they date Ps. 110 in the Maccabean age, will not impress any unbiased reader as being very scientific. Such a play with letters reminds one of the cabalistic nonsense by means of which some medieval Jews and Christians tried to explain, or rather, to explain away, Scripture. It is strange indeed that such arguments should appeal to scholars of the present enlightened era, but they are set forth and defended in all seriousness in a modern *Introduction to the Old Testament*, which, after its first publication in 1941, was used in theological seminaries of America more than any other book dealing with the subject. This is clear evidence of the readiness with which many critical scholars accept anything, however absurd, that may conceivably be used to discredit the traditional origin and authorship of the various Bible books.

Canaanite literature recovered since excavations began in 1929 at Ugarit (Ras Shamrah) provides a wealth of poetic material paralleling the Psalms. These Canaanite poems are of a mythological nature and come from the latter half of the second millennium B.C. They contain numerous expressions, phrases, and words which are found also in the Psalms. There are also many close parallels in grammar, concerning which W. F. Albright makes the following remarks:

"It is remarkable how many apparent anomalies in early Hebrew verse, which have been explained away or amended by scholars, turn out to be accurate reflections of Canaanite grammatical peculiarities which were forgotten long before the time of the Masoretes, who vocalized the consonantal Hebrew text of the Bible in the seventh to ninth centuries A.D. These grammatical peculiarities grow fewer and fewer in later Hebrew verse and are scarcely to be found at all in our latest biblical poetry.

"With this new independent criterion for dating it becomes possible to push back the dates generally accepted for many early Hebrew poems" ("The Bible After Twenty Years of Archaeology," *Religion in Life*, Vol. XXI [Autumn, 1952], p. 543).

Albright has demonstrated (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 23 [1950–51], Part I, pp. 1-40) that Ps. 68, often attributed to the Maccabean period (2d century B.C.), contains so many Canaanite parallels of the second millennium that it is safe to say that it is one of

the earliest psalms in the collection of Hebrew hymns to come down to us. Since this psalm is attributed by its title to David, who lived in the 11th-10th centuries B.C., and the expressions used in it are parallel to others in texts of the 14th century B.C., there is no difficulty whatever in concluding that David used common poetic phrases in the composition of his hymns. Albright has dated Ps. 68 in the 10th century B.C., a date that agrees completely with Davidic authorship.

The expression “mountain of thine inheritance” used by Moses in his famous song of praise (Ex. 15:17) has also been found in pre-Israelite hymns of Ugarit. Critics had considered these words as evidence of a late origin, for they were satisfied that such a statement could not have been made before the Solomonic Temple stood on Mt. Zion. They thought that it could apply only to this particular mountain. Now the term “the mountain of mine inheritance” is found in Ugaritic poems. There this term applies to Baal’s dwelling on a mountain in the far north. Whether Moses knew this Canaanite expression is unimportant, but the fact that it existed in the literature of Moses’ time is of extreme importance. Hence, there remains no difficulty in accepting this expression (Ex. 15:17) as coming from the lips of Moses, either as a poetic expression widely used during that time (see also Isa. 14:13), or as a coincidental parallel to the Ugaritic poem, without having any relationship to it.

For further discussion of critical problems in the Psalms see Vol. III, pp. 617-619, 864, 865.

The Unity of Isaiah. For a discussion of evidences for the unity of Isaiah see Vol. IV, pp. 84-86.

The Authenticity of Ezekiel. In considering the radical criticisms of the book of Ezekiel proposed especially by Hölscher, Torrey, and Irwin, several points must be kept in mind. First is the fact that such criticisms by leading scholars are of comparatively recent date, whereas some of the most extreme critics of the past have accepted Ezekiel as authentic. Second, it is significant that each of the leading critics of the book has advanced a theory of authorship and a reconstruction of the materials that is widely different from the others. Thus no generally recognized view of Ezekiel has been achieved yet by critical scholarship. Finally, it has been shown that at least several of the important arguments for a late date for Ezekiel do not rest upon solid evidence. Thus to argue that a passage is spurious because it evidences a variation from its context is to deny the original author the liberty of introducing new interpretations of his figures of speech as his prophecy progresses. C. G. Howie (*The Date and Composition of Ezekiel*) has recently marshaled much scholarly evidence in favor of the traditional authorship, date, and place of writing of Ezekiel. Whereas scholars have argued for a late date because they believed the book contained many late Aramaic words, Howie has shown (pp. 47-68) that there is much less Aramaic in Ezekiel than has been thought, and that the Aramaisms that do appear are not out of harmony with the time when the book declares itself to have been written. Thus it is fair to say that the higher criticism of the book of Ezekiel has not established a recognized position, and there is much evidence to favor the traditional view, held by this commentary, that the book was written by Ezekiel in Babylonia in the 6th century B.C.

The Authenticity of Daniel. For a discussion of the evidences for the authenticity of the book of Daniel see Vol. IV, pp. 743-750.

Conclusion.—In the foregoing pages, arguments representative of the higher criticism of the Bible have been discussed. Most of these arguments have been shown to be invalid by recent archeological findings. These discoveries provide conclusive evidence that many higher critical theories are untenable. However, there will always remain some arguments that can neither be demonstrated by the critic to be correct nor proved by the conservative to be fallacious. The nature of such arguments, and the paucity of certain kinds of ancient documents and other key materials, probably always will leave some Biblical statements either to be accepted in faith as being true or to be rejected because their validity cannot be proved.

Many scholars have been impressed by the cumulative force of archeological material that has been unearthed, which has cast light on what were dimly understood passages. This material has confirmed strange customs, conditions, or historical events described in Scripture, and solved difficulties and apparent contradictions. In the foregoing pages some statements of famous scholars have been presented which show the new trend among learned students of the Bible toward a much more conservative attitude in regard to it. As a result of archeology the study of the Old Testament is now approached with more sympathetic understanding than at any time during the last two centuries, and its veracity and reliability are less challenged than some decades ago.

How archeological evidence has influenced honest scholars of recent years is well illustrated by the example of one of the most famous living Orientalists, W. F. Albright, who, coming forth from the extreme critical school of Paul Haupt, began his scholarly career as a confirmed radical. In 1919 he went to Jerusalem and soon became the director of the American School of Oriental Research, the most important American archeological research center in Palestine. Ten years of field work in the Near East gradually shifted Albright from the radical position to one halfway between the conservative and the critical. He himself described this remarkable change in an obituary for Melvin G. Kyle, the well-known conservative writer, scholar, and teacher, who died in 1933. This testimony speaks for itself:

“The writer used to meet Dr. Kyle occasionally, before coming to Palestine in 1919, at learned society meetings. In those days, the fact that we were apparently at antipodes with regard to most crucial biblical and oriental problems seemed to preclude all real friendship. In the spring of 1921 Dr. Kyle came to Jerusalem with his family for a stay of several weeks as lecturer in the School, during the writer’s year as acting director. The acquaintance then developed soon ripened into friendship.

“We seldom or never debated biblical questions, but there can be no doubt that our constant association with the ever-recurring opportunity for comparing biblical and archeological data has led to increasing convergence between our views, once so far apart. To the last, however, Dr. Kyle remained staunchly conservative on most of his basic positions, while the writer has gradually changed from the extreme radicalism of 1919 to a standpoint which can neither be called conservative nor radical, in the usual sense of the terms” (W. F. Albright, “In Memoriam,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 51 [September, 1933], pp. 5, 6).

However, the reader should not think that the serious defeats critical scholarship has suffered during recent decades have dealt it a death blow, or that higher Bible criticism is approaching its end. This is not so. It is true that the number of extreme radicals among the followers of Wellhausen has lately become much smaller than it used to be, but the

conservative student of the Bible should not forget that certain fundamental hypotheses of higher criticism are as widely accepted as if they were demonstrable facts. They have been repeated and taught so many times and in so many books that most scholars seem to have forgotten that they are still hypotheses and not established facts.

It is not expected that the information here set forth will greatly alter that thinking of men of critical bent. Its purpose is to furnish the reader who believes in the inspiration and accuracy of the Bible with information concerning the present status of the critical Bible scholarship. It should prove comforting to know that skeptical criticism has suffered serious setbacks, and that many critical arguments can be met successfully with the weapons archeology has already retrieved from the sand and debris of Bible lands and placed in our hands. It should also be a source of deep satisfaction to know that the Christian faith rests on a firm foundation, the inspired and unerring Word of God, and that the old Bible stands unmoved by the fiercest onslaughts of its most formidable foes. This section may most appropriately end with a further line from the pen of W. F. Albright, who in concluding his article "The Bible After Twenty Years of Archaeology (1932–1952)," declared:

"New archeological material continues to pour in, compelling revision of all past approaches to both Old and New Testament religion. It becomes clearer each day that this rediscovery of the Bible often leads to a new evaluation of biblical faith, which strikingly resembles the orthodoxy of an earlier day" *Religion in Life*, Vol. XXI [Autumn, 1952] p. 550).

III. Higher Criticism of the New Testament

Many of the same principles that have been applied to the higher criticism of the Old Testament have also been employed in the critical study of the New. In the mid-19th century an extremely radical school of criticism emanated from the University of Tübingen in Germany (consequently known as the Tübingen School). It declared that practically none of the New Testament was written by the authors whose names are attached to its books, placed the Gospels in the 2d century and recognized only Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians as being authentically Pauline. The establishment of a reliable Greek text by such scholars as Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort (see pp. 142–144) and further critical study have tended generally to revise these conclusions in a conservative direction so that now the Gospels are widely recognized as being from the 1st century (although not necessarily by their reputed authors), and there is general agreement on Paul's authorship of all the epistles attributed to him, with the exception of 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and perhaps Ephesians. Accordingly the present article will confine itself to those books regarding which the chief critical problems still exist—the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, 2 Peter, Jude, and the Revelation.

Synoptic Problem.—At least since the time of Augustine (d. A.D. 430), Christian scholars have been aware of the literary similarities that exist between the Synoptic Gospels, and many scholars have sought to reconstruct the history of these relationships, which are known as the "synoptic problem." The attempts at solution of this problem have been especially vigorous since the early 19th century. Of particular importance among the proposed solutions are these:

Theory of One Original Aramaic Gospel. The Christian Father Papias, writing in the 2d century, is quoted by Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* iii. 39. 16; Loeb ed., p. 297) as

declaring: “ ‘Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew [Aramaic] language and each interpreted them as best he could.’ ” On the basis of this statement some scholars have held that those passages that are most nearly identical in the Synoptics are the result of Matthew, Mark, and Luke all having used Matthew’s original Aramaic Gospel as a source for their narratives in Greek. This view is generally rejected by scholars today because many of the parallel passages are of such a nature that they must have arisen from a Greek, not an Aramaic, source.

Fragmentary Theory. This view has been widely held in different forms. Some scholars have emphasized the fact that memories of Jesus doubtless were kept alive in the church in oral form for some time after His death. In the course of a few years, particularly in the Orient, these would tend to take more or less fixed forms upon which the evangelists might draw. Thus at least many of the verbal coincidences in the Gospels might be explained. Other scholars have sought to solve the synoptic problem in much the same way, but have laid emphasis rather upon the fact, implied by Luke (ch. 1:1), that many written accounts of Jesus were in circulation. They suggest that these were fragments—a discussion, a report of a miracle, a saying—and that the evangelists drew from different collections, which in many instances overlapped.

Two-Document Theory. This view is basic to almost all the thinking on the synoptic problem at the present time. It holds that there are two basic documents upon which the synoptic writers drew for their materials. The first of these is identified as the Gospel of Mark, which is held to have been the earliest of the canonical Gospels. The second document, according to this theory, is made up of those materials not in Mark, but which are common to both Matthew and Luke. This was previously referred to as “the logia” by those who considered it to be identical with Papias’ Aramaic Matthew (see above), as he refers to that document by the Greek term *ta logia* (“the oracles”). At the present time, however, scholars generally prefer to speak of it simply as Q, from the German *Quelle*, “source.”

Four-Document Theory. In 1924 B. H. Streeter (*The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*) proposed an amplification of the two-document theory that seeks to account for materials in Matthew and Luke other than those thought to be from Mark and Q. He seeks to identify four sources that he believes came from four centers of early Christianity: Mark from Rome; Q from Antioch; most of the materials peculiar to Luke, which he designates as L and believes came from Caesarea; and material peculiar to Matthew, which he designates as M and believes represents the memories of the church at Jerusalem. Scholars have not generally accepted the whole of Streeter’s hypothesis, but there is wide agreement that four bodies of material may be discerned in the Synoptic Gospels, although their places of origin may not be as readily ascertained as Streeter held.

Theory of Aramaic Originals. Charles Cutler Torrey broached this theory in 1912, and published it in elaborate form in 1933. He holds that all the Gospels were written originally in Aramaic. He argues that there are many mistranslations in the Greek Gospels that can be solved only by putting them into Aramaic, from which language he believes they were originally translated. Torrey’s hypothesis, while attracting wide attention, has not been accepted by many scholars, for those who have championed his view have had difficulty in agreeing as to what the supposed mistranslations are. Further, it seems most unlikely that so many mistranslations as he proposes to find would have been tolerated by the early church in a day when both Greek and Aramaic were living

languages. A further difficulty lies in the fact that there is scarcely any Palestinian Aramaic from the 1st century extant to serve as a model for the language in which Torrey holds the Gospels originally to have been written.

Theory of Forms. In 1919 Martin Dibelius proposed a new approach to the synoptic problem that is commonly known by the German term *Formgeschichte*, or “form criticism.” It has since been elaborated by Rudolf Bultmann. This is not so much an alternative to the two- and four-document hypotheses as it is an attempt to analyze the literary “forms” represented in the Gospels. Proponents of form criticism hold that for some time after the crucifixion the stories about Jesus were preserved only orally, and that the church naturally preserved what was best suited to guide it in questions of belief and conduct, to instruct inquirers, to use in worship, and to aid in controversy. Thus, they hold, various types of literature developed: parables, miracle narratives, a particular point of teaching, and the passion story. These are believed to have circulated widely and to have attained rather fixed literary form. It is thought that when the evangelists wrote, they gathered these various fragments, or used previously written collections of them. This, advocates of form criticism believe, would account for both similarities and differences to be found in the Synoptic Gospels.

Underlying most of the foregoing theories is the premise that the Gospels were produced in the same way that any ordinary religious work is produced, that is, that the authors of the Gospels were endowed with no specific revelation or supernatural guidance, but relied entirely upon fallible human documents and memories, which they in turn felt free to adapt and to emend to suit their specific purposes. Such an assumption this commentary vigorously rejects. Not only did the Holy Spirit direct the authors of the Gospels to reliable source materials, He also gave them knowledge of events by direct revelation. Thus the Gospels, as also all other Scripture, are unique when compared with the whole body of man’s literary production; consequently it is not possible to treat their literary history entirely in the same way that a critic analyzes the factors that contribute to the production of a work that springs solely from human genius.

At the same time this commentary refrains from taking the antithetical position that the writers of Scripture wrote under verbal dictation by the Holy Spirit, and that consequently the verbal parallels—even breaks in sentence structure—are to be explained on the basis of the Spirit’s having chosen to dictate the same words to different writers. Peter states specifically that “holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost” (2 Peter 1:21). They spoke and wrote according to their own individualities and characteristics, as is indicated by the varied styles of writing that they display, but free of the errors found in other writings. God through His Spirit gave light and understanding to the Bible writers’ minds. He led them to written and oral sources of truth, and by supernatural revelation gave them knowledge of events of the past and the future that otherwise they could not have known. All of these they have recorded in their own words (see GC v–vii).

What, then, can be said in regard to the synoptic problem? The following points represent the tentative suggestions of this commentary:

1. It appears indubitable from Luke 1:1–3 and from the verbal parallels in the Synoptic Gospels that Matthew and Luke, at least, were led by the Holy Spirit to use previously written documents in the preparation of their Gospels. That many people should have preserved accounts, oral and written, of the life, work, and teachings of Jesus

was only normal, and Luke states specifically that this happened (ch. 1:1). He goes on to imply that before writing his own account he had made research among the sources available to him, when he says, "It seemed good to me also, having followed all things closely for some time past, to write an orderly account" (ch. 1:3, RSV). A careful comparison of Matthew with Mark and Luke indicates that Matthew also employed literary sources. For instance, the parallel passages in Matt. 9:6, Mark 2:10, 11, and Luke 5:24 are nearly identical in wording, each one containing the same ungrammatical break in sense. Such passages presuppose some type of literary interrelationship between their authors. Striking examples of the use of identical but unusual words in parallel passages add further evidence to support this conclusion. Thus it seems clear that the Spirit of God led the authors of the first and third Gospels to use previously written accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus, and probably oral reports as well. That such a procedure was entirely in harmony with the working of Inspiration is clear from the Old Testament, where verbally identical passages appear in the writings of different authors (see 2 Sam. 22 and Ps. 18; 2 Kings 18:13 to 20:19 and Isa. 36–39; 2 Kings 24:18 to 25:21, 27–30 and Jer. 52:1–27, 31–34).

2. The Gospel of Mark probably was the first of the Gospels to be written. It is a notable fact that this Gospel is duplicated in subject matter almost completely by the other Gospels. Westcott (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 192) has found only 24 verses in the entire book of Mark that are without parallels. This is revealed in another way by the table in Vol. V, p. 192, which shows that on the basis of the Gospel sections followed in this commentary, only 1 per cent of Mark's account is reported by him exclusively. The rest is also contained, though not necessarily in similar language, in at least one of the other three Gospels. If then, as reported by Papias (see p. 176), Mark drew his materials from the reminiscences of Peter, it is obvious that he did not copy them from either Matthew or Luke. Yet the verbal parallels are such that a documentary relationship evidently existed. That Mark is basic to Matthew and Luke rather than a condensation of either of them appears clear from the fact that although when taken as a whole Mark's Gospel is the shortest, yet in many of the events that he does narrate he gives his account in greater detail than do either Matthew or Luke. This seems to indicate that the first and third Gospels present Mark's materials with additions, rather than that Mark is a condensation from them.

3. Inasmuch as there seems to be a literary relationship between the Synoptic Gospels, and further, inasmuch as Mark was apparently the earliest written, it follows that Mark was evidently one of the written sources upon which Matthew and Luke drew in composing their accounts of Jesus.

4. It was only natural that many oral reports regarding the life and teaching of Jesus circulated in the early church. The apostolic Gr. *kērugma*, preaching, centered upon Christ, and particularly on His death and resurrection (see Acts 2:22–24; 10:38–40; 26:22, 23). Consequently the reports of those who had been with Christ must have attained a wide currency in the early church. Paul's reference (Acts 20:35) to a saying of Jesus that is not included in the Gospels is an indication of one type of such material that was in circulation, while John declares (ch. 21:25) that there were "many other things which Jesus did," preserved by other writers, or only orally. These would tend in time to take a more or less set form. At the same time, however, it is clear from Luke 1:1 that many written documents regarding Jesus existed. Thus in apostolic times there must have

been in circulation a considerable body of materials, both oral and written. Probably the Gospel writers were led by the Holy Spirit to draw some of their materials from such sources.

5. Similarities in the material common to Matthew and Luke, but not found in Mark, indicate that they drew upon another common source, or sources, besides Mark. Although the exact content and place of origin of this source cannot be determined, the term Q may be considered a working label for purposes of identification.

6. Matthew, at least, undoubtedly incorporated personal memories into his Gospel.

7. In the case of Luke it appears probable that his Gospel began to take shape during his stay at Caesarea, which, as far as is known, was his first opportunity to gather information in Palestine regarding the life of Jesus. Literary evidence, indeed, appears to suggest that the non-Markan materials of Luke may have constituted a sort of first edition of the Gospel of Luke, as they begin with the introductory part of the book and go on to include the story of Jesus' death and resurrection. The most probable point in Luke's career at which he would have come in contact with Mark's Gospel would be during his stay at Rome at the time of Paul's first imprisonment (see Col. 4:10, 14), for this is the first time there is evidence that Luke and Mark were together. Here then he may have added such materials from Mark's Gospel to his own previously written account as the Holy Spirit led him to choose.

Although it is not possible to offer a final solution to these problems, the student of the Bible may be confident that the Synoptic Gospels represent a divinely inspired, interrelated effort by early Christian writers, who recognized the validity of narratives written by their fellow Christians. The Holy Spirit led in the choice of materials, safeguarded in their handling, and added to them by direct revelation, that an authentic, inspired record of the life, death, and resurrection of the Son of God might be preserved to His church.

Gospel of John.—From early times Christian tradition has assigned the writing of the Gospel of John to the 1st century, dating it later than the Synoptic Gospels. This tradition prevailed until the early 19th century, when critical scholars began to deny that it could have been written earlier than about A.D. 150, and that therefore the apostle John could not have been its author. It was alleged that this Gospel reflects a stage in the development of Christian thought that was, presumably, characteristic of the 2d century. It was alleged, further, that in many respects the book of John reflects Gnostic thought, and that, accordingly, it could not have been written until Gnosticism had become a major influence within the church. However, as E. R. Goodenough of Yale University observes, the fundamental difficulty with critical thinking on the dating of John was the reasoning that it “‘could not’ have been written before 100 because an earlier date would destroy his [the higher critic’s] whole conception of the evolution of Christianity” (“John a Primitive Gospel,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXIV [1945], p. 147).

Today the picture has changed radically. A series of vital discoveries has led critical scholars to abandon their theory of a late date for the writing of the Gospel of John. The first of these discoveries consists of a small scrap of papyrus containing John 18:31–33, 37, 38, known as Rylands Papyrus 457 and commonly designated P (see p. 117, and illustration opp. p. 128). Purchased years earlier with other papyri in a provincial town of Egypt, it was not published until 1935. The handwriting indicates that this fragment was

written about A.D. 125, which makes it the oldest known manuscript of any portion of the New Testament.

With this date three of the most outstanding papyrologists, Sir Frederic Kenyon, W. Schubart, and H. Idris Bell, agree (*An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library*, edited by C. H. Roberts, Manchester, 1935). The famous New Testament scholar Adolph Deissmann dates it in the days of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), or possibly Trajan (A.D. 98–117).

Discussing this manuscript shortly after its discovery, Deissmann declared it to be of the utmost importance for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Dec. 3, 1935, he wrote:

“A multitude of hypotheses concerning a late origin of the Gospel according to John will quickly wither hot-house plants. We have in the Rylands papyrus a certain documentary proof that the Gospel according to John not only existed in the first half of the 2nd century, but that its copies had already reached Egypt. The origin of the Gospel is therefore to be put back into much earlier times.”

Commenting on the significance of this dramatic find, Sir Frederick Kenyon, editor of the Chester Beatty Papyri, comments:

“Even so small a scrap is proof of the existence of the whole manuscript, and shows that a codex of the Fourth Gospel was circulating in mid-Egypt before the middle of the second century. It thus confirms the evidence for the traditional date of that Gospel” (*The Bible and Archaeology*, p. 226).

“If there was one point on which the advanced school felt more confident than another it was the late date of the Fourth Gospel. . . . It is, therefore, satisfactory to find that it is precisely in the case of the Fourth Gospel that the new evidence for a first-century date is the most convincing” (*ibid.* p. 287).

He says again that the evidence from the Rylands Papyrus 457 “goes far towards confirming the traditional date of composition [of the Gospel According to John], in the last years of the first century” (*Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940], p. 128).

Also in 1935, fragments of an unknown gospel narrative (Egerton Papyrus 2), which was discovered in Egypt, were published (*Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri*, edited by H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, London). The gospel narratives preserved in these fragments are so similar to those of the canonical Gospels as to make it evident that the writer of this unknown gospel borrowed his information from the canonical ones. Of special interest is the fact that several close parallels exist with rather widely separated passages of the Fourth Gospel, belonging to different episodes (see, for instance, on John 5:39). These fragments, written in Egypt not later than the middle of the 2d century, thus provide evidence that the Fourth Gospel was used, together with the Synoptics, in Egypt before the middle of the 2d century A.D. Speaking of this most interesting discovery, the conservative and scholarly Kenyon observes:

“If a compilation based upon it could be circulating in a provincial town in Egypt before the end of the first half of the second century the Gospel itself must surely have been written before the end of the first century, and the contentions of the ‘advanced’ critics of the nineteenth century, that it was not produced until after A.D. 150, vanish into smoke” (*The Bible and Archaeology*, p. 217).

In 1945 E. R. Goodenough, professor of the history of religion at Yale University, advanced arguments that there is nothing specifically Gnostic in John, as critics claimed, and that it goes back to the beginnings of Christianity. Further evidence in this direction was provided two years later by a second remarkable discovery, made at Chenoboscium in Upper Egypt. Some forty Gnostic treatises found there have shown that Gnosticism in the 2d century apparently was quite different from the principles stated in the Fourth Gospel.

The publication of certain Dead Sea scrolls (see pp. 90-92) has provided a fourth confirmation for the 1st-century writing of John. Some of these documents indicate that the supposedly later theological ideas of John actually antedate the period of Christ's ministry. Furthermore, W. F. Albright (*Archaeology of Palestine* [London, 1954], pp. 244-249) has set forth numerous examples of references in John to places, persons, and things that clearly go back to a time prior to the First Jewish Revolt, in A.D. 66-70.

Thus, as with so many other matters affecting the validity and inspiration of the Scriptures, later discoveries have proved invalid the former contention of higher criticism that the Gospel of John is from the second half of the 2d century. Commenting on this dramatic change in critical thinking, W. F. Albright comments that "there is no reason to date the Gospel after A.D. 90; it may be earlier" ("The Bible After Twenty Years of Archaeology," *Religion in Life*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, pp. 550, 1952). In discussing this same problem *The Interpreter's Bible* remarks that "the late date that once found favor with critical scholars is now almost universally abandoned. . . . It is therefore increasingly difficult to accept a date much later than the end of the first century for the publication of the Gospel" (vol. 8, pp. 441, 442).

From every point of view it is safe to date the Gospel of John about the year A.D. 90, and thus within the lifetime of the apostle whose name it bears. Consequently it is reasonable, even on critical premises, to hold that the apostle John was its author. The majestic depth of understanding of the nature and purpose of the mission of Christ set forth in the Gospel of John makes it difficult to believe that another than John the Beloved could have been the penman.

Ephesians.—Certain characteristics of the Epistle to the Ephesians have led many critical scholars to doubt that Paul was the author of this book, and to think that it was written, rather, by an unknown author who attached Paul's name to the work so that it might have greater prestige. Particularly important among these critical problems in Ephesians are the following:

Scholars have noted that much of the material in Ephesians is paralleled in Paul's other epistles. This has given rise to the theory that the supposedly unknown author of Ephesians may have built up the epistle by gathering concepts and phraseology from Paul's other letters.

Furthermore, it is a striking fact that Ephesians lacks entirely the personal greetings at the end of the book that are such a characteristic feature of Paul's letters. This becomes all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the apostle had been some two years at Ephesus, a longer period than he had spent with any other church before writing them. Nor does he treat of any specific church problems in this epistle, as he frequently does in his other writings. In addition, the benediction (ch. 6:23, 24) is in the third person, which was not Paul's normal style, and such an impersonal farewell is hardly to be expected of him in writing to a church for which he had labored so long.

A third feature of the epistle that has raised doubt as to its genuineness is the fact that the best manuscript evidence indicates that the letter was not originally addressed to the Ephesians at all. The three earliest extant manuscripts of Ephesians, from the 3d and 4th centuries, read in ch. 1:1, "Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus." The evidence that such was the original reading is strengthened further by the commentary of Origin (died A.D. 254) on Ephesians, which concurs in this omission. Basil (died c. A.D. 379) testifies that no old manuscripts in his day contained the words "at Ephesus" in ch. 1:1 (*Against Eunomius* ii. 19). Tertullian (died c. A.D. 230) reports that the mid-2d century heretic Marcion declared the epistle not to have been written to the Ephesians, but rather to the Laodiceans (*Against Marcion* v. 17, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, pp. 464, 465). Although Tertullian defended the epistle as having been sent to the Ephesians, he did not base his argument on ch. 1:1, as would be expected if in his day it had read "to the saints which are at Ephesus." Rather, he made his appeal "on the true tradition of the Church, that this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans" (*loc. cit.*).

All this has led some scholars to suggest that the book of Ephesians was written sometime after the death of Paul. Edgar J. Goodspeed (*Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 224, 225) has proposed the view that the epistle was written at the time Paul's other letters were collected and sent into circulation as a unit, and that Ephesians was built up from his other works as a general epistle to serve as an introduction to the collection.

In evaluating these problems a distinction must be carefully borne in mind between the problem of the destination to which the letter originally was sent, and the question as to its authorship. If a reasonable solution to the first question can be found, the problem of authorship becomes much less acute.

Inasmuch as the earliest manuscripts of Ephesians do not testify to its having contained the name "Ephesus" in ch. 1:1, and inasmuch as the testimony of Church Fathers earlier than the time of these manuscripts indicates that their Bibles similarly lacked this reading, it seems reasonable to conclude that the original autograph of this epistle had only a general salutation. There is nothing in Scripture elsewhere that disagrees with such a conclusion.

If then, as seems probable, Paul sent out his epistle now known as Ephesians to a general audience of readers rather than specifically to the Ephesian congregation, the other problems regarding Pauline authorship are more readily solved. It is immediately understandable that he would not have appended such personal greetings as he attaches to his other letters. Similarly the formality of his benediction fits perfectly in such a setting, and his intimation (ch. 3:2) that some might not have heard of his call to apostleship becomes intelligible.

Ernest Percy (*Die Probleme der Kolosser-und Epheserbriefe*, Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946) has shown by an extensive study of Ephesians as compared with Paul's other epistles that in language, style, and particularly in theological concepts Ephesians is so much in agreement with the other letters that on purely critical grounds the evidence of its authenticity is much stronger than are the arguments that may be brought against it (see *ibid.*, pp. 443-448).

Percy has demonstrated that an especially close relationship exists between Ephesians and Colossians (cf. Eph. 1:1 with Col. 1:1; Eph. 1:13 with Col. 1:5; Eph. 1:15 with Col.

1:4, 9; Eph. 2:12 with Col. 1:21; Eph. 2:15 with Col. 2:14; Eph. 2:16 with Col. 1:22; Eph. 6:18 with Col. 4:2; Eph. 6:21 with Col. 4:7), a much closer relationship, indeed, than between Ephesians and any other of Paul's letters. This similarity seems to be best explained by the view that both epistles were written by the same author, Paul, and virtually at the same time. That such was the case is indicated by the fact that Eph. 6:21, 22, which introduces Tychicus as the agent by whom Paul sends the letter, is virtually identical to Col. 4:7, 8. A comparison of Col. 4:9 with Philemon 10, 12 indicates further that the Epistle to Philemon probably was sent at the same time. Thus Tychicus apparently carried with him three letters on his journey to the Roman province of Asia (in western Asia Minor)—a personal letter from Paul to Philemon, who evidently was a member of the church at Colossae; a letter (Colossians) specifically to the church at Colossae; and a letter not addressed to any specific church, but intended probably to circulate among the various churches of the province of Asia, such as Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, and Laodicea, perhaps with those believers especially in mind whom Paul had not known personally. This, apparently, was the epistle now known as Ephesians. Whether Tychicus had a fourth letter addressed to the church at Laodicea (see Col. 4:16), or whether that letter is identical with this general letter, cannot be known.

It is reasonable to believe that when this general letter had paid its visit to the various churches of the area for which it was intended, it would have come to rest in the possession of the congregation at Ephesus, inasmuch as Ephesus was the chief city of the province of Asia, and furthermore, since it was the site of such prolonged labor by Paul, where his memory must especially have been cherished. If this is what happened, as seems probable, it is not difficult to understand that when Paul's epistles were first gathered from the churches to which they had been sent and in which they had been preserved, the epistle found in the possession of the Ephesians congregation would naturally be entitled Ephesians.

Although the foregoing suggestions cannot be conclusively proved, they do afford a reasonable explanation for the supposed difficulties in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and they provide a positive theory for the authorship and destination of the epistle that is in harmony both with the evidences of Scripture and the standards of reputable scholarship.

Pastoral Epistles.—By this term is meant the epistles to Timothy and to Titus. Although the other epistles bearing Paul's name are generally recognized by critical scholars as being authentically Pauline (with the possible exception of Ephesians), many critics reject the Pauline authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus. Following are the chief arguments set forth by certain scholars in support of the view that Paul was not the author of these epistles:

When the historical allusions in the Pastoral Epistles (such as 1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Tim. 4:20; Titus 3:12) are compared with the history of Paul's life in Acts, it is clear that they do not fit into the pattern of his career as portrayed there.

The Pastoral Epistles reveal a more developed structure of church organization than is seen elsewhere in the New Testament. For example, specific qualifications are given both for elders or bishops (1 Tim. 3:1–7; Titus 1:5–9) and deacons (1 Tim. 3:8–13), regulations are laid down for the conduct of women in church (1 Tim. 2:8–15), and stipulations are made for the care of widows and for their conduct. (1 Tim. 5:3–16). Critical scholars have felt that all this portrays a development in ecclesiastical organization so far in

advance of that revealed elsewhere in the New Testament that the Pastoral Epistles should rather be dated sometime during the 2d century.

The theory that these letters originated in the century following the apostles has been bolstered further by an appeal to the warning against “oppositions of science falsely so called” (1 Tim. 6:20). In Greek this reads, *antitheseis tēs pseudōnumou gnōseōs*, which may be translated. “antitheses of falsely named *gnōsis* [knowledge].” About the middle of the 2d century Marcion, a heretical teacher, produced a work that he called the *Antitheses*. Furthermore, many of Marcion’s views were similar to those of the Gnostics, who emphasized the importance of *gnōsis*, or knowledge. Consequently some scholars have seen in this passage from 1 Timothy a warning against the 2d-century heretic Marcion, and so have dated the book accordingly, holding that Paul’s name was attached to the epistle to give it prestige in the struggle with Marcion and Gnosticism.

Still another reason that critical scholars have given for rejecting the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is the fact that their vocabulary is quite different from that of Paul’s other epistles. They contain a much larger number of words not used elsewhere in Paul’s epistles than do any other of his writings.

These arguments have led many scholars to deny that Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles. However, this commentary holds with those who believe that there is strong and wholly satisfactory evidence that these writings are authentically Pauline.

The very fact that the historical references in the epistles to Timothy and Titus do not fit into the framework of the Acts is an indication that they come from a period of Paul’s life subsequent to his imprisonment at Rome as recorded in Acts 28. If the Pastoral Epistles are allowed to speak for themselves, they reveal Paul as having been released from imprisonment and having traveled extensively in Crete, Asia Minor, and Greece, and then having been arrested and imprisoned at Rome a second time. Similarly, the fact that persons are mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles who appear nowhere else in the Pauline letters (Crescens, 2 Tim. 4:10; Carpus, ch. 4:13; Onesiphorus, chs. 1:16; 4:19; Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, ch. 4:21; Artemas, Titus 3:12; Zenas, ch. 3:13) is a further evidence that these epistles come from a later period of Paul’s career, rather than an indication of forgery. In fact, it is difficult to account for a forger’s having introduced events and persons into his work that do not fit into what is otherwise known of Paul’s life, for such elements would immediately have been recognized as evidences of spuriousness. Instead, a clever forger would have made his writings as consonant as he possibly could with the authentic epistles of Paul. Thus these historical aspects of the Pastoral Epistles may be seen as evidences of their authenticity.

As for the question of the type of church organization revealed in the Pastoral Epistle, it can be said that although problems of church polity are discussed in greater detail in these writings than elsewhere in the New Testament, nevertheless there is nothing in them that is out of harmony with other evidences regarding the organization of the church during Paul’s lifetime. Just as other phases of Christian life and belief are emphasized in Paul’s other writings, so church polity is taken up in particular detail in the Pastoral Epistles.

The passage in 1 Tim. 6:20 dealing with the “antitheses of falsely named *gnōsis*” does not necessarily refer to Marcion’s work. *Gnōsis*, “knowledge,” is a familiar word in

Paul's vocabulary, and is quite intelligible without being taken to refer to any particular heretical opinion, although in fact, as a technical term *gnōsis* probably already was current among early Gnostics in his day. Similarly *antitheses* does not necessarily refer to Marcion's book, but easily fits the present context with its common meaning of "oppositions," "counterpropositions." Thus Paul may be understood as warning Timothy against the "counterpropositions of falsely named knowledge," as contrasted with the gospel.

The difference between the vocabulary of the Pastoral Epistles and that of Paul's other writings is probably best to be accounted for on the ground that he was writing the Pastorals at a later point in his career after further travel and experience. The difference may also be due to the probability that he employed different scribes who exercised some choice in phraseology.

Hebrews.—The question of the identity of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is a major critical problem. However, inasmuch as the book itself makes no claim regarding its authorship, this question is not one concerning which conservatives and critical scholars are greatly at variance. Accordingly it is not treated in the present article. For a discussion of the problem the reader is referred to the Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews in Vol. VII.

Second Peter and Jude.—Perhaps the book of the New Testament that has been declared postapostolic, and thus spurious, by the greatest number of scholars is 2 Peter. The chief reasons for this opinion are the following:

In language and style 2 Peter is quite different from 1 Peter. 2 Peter gives a special status to the epistles of Paul, referring to them, not only as a collection, but apparently as "scripture" (2 Peter 3:15, 16), that is, on the same level of inspiration and authority as the Old Testament. Many scholars have felt that Paul's epistles could hardly have been collected during his (or Peter's) lifetime from the various churches to which they were sent, and that during that same period they certainly could not have attained a status equal to that of the Old Testament Scriptures.

A third reason is the fact that since early Christian times serious doubts have been expressed as to 2 Peter's right to a place in the New Testament canon (see pp. 127-131).

However, before a decision is made regarding the authenticity of 2 Peter, several factors must be taken into consideration that favor the view that it was written by the apostle Peter:

First, either 2 Peter was written by the apostle, or it is an outright forgery. Not only does it begin in the usual way, giving "Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ" as its author, but its writer claims to have been one of those who was with Christ upon the mount of transfiguration (see 2 Peter 1:17, 18; cf. Matt. 17:1). Unless this is an outright falsification, the author can be none other than the apostle Peter.

Although it is a fact that the style of language of 2 Peter is different from that of the first epistle, this may reasonably be accounted for by the probability that Peter, as an unschooled Palestinian whose mother tongue was Aramaic, doubtless employed secretarial aid in phrasing an epistle he was writing in Greek. If Paul, who was fully at home in Greek, used secretaries, as he quite evidently did, it is even more logical to think that Peter, whose native language was Aramaic, would have done so, and that these secretaries would have exerted a definite influence on the wording of his letters in Greek.

Thus two different secretaries may well have written down for him his two different epistles.

As for the question of Peter's reference to Paul's epistles, it must be recognized that there is no definitive evidence as to when the epistles of Paul came into circulation either as separate volumes or as a collection. Although scholars have generally felt that this must have occurred no earlier than the latter part of the 1st century, there is in fact no proof that it could not have begun during the lifetime of Paul and Peter. Considering the breadth and intensity of Paul's missionary activity and his resulting prominence in the apostolic church, and considering the fact that his and Peter's paths repeatedly crossed, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that Paul's letters probably enjoyed some circulation even before his death.

The further problem of Peter's having classed Paul's epistles as "scripture" likewise cannot be considered an absolute proof of a late date for this epistle. There is no proof that Peter could not and should not have recognized them as such. Paul believed that he wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (see 1 Cor. 7:40; 1 Tim. 4:1), and it would not seem unreasonable to think that Peter would have recognized this to be a fact and so have classed the writings of Paul among the inspired writings belonging to the church.

Another question connected with 2 Peter is that of its relationship to the Epistle of Jude. A careful comparison of 2 Peter 2:1 to 3:3 with Jude 4–18 reveals that these two books have much material in common. Although many scholars have concluded that the writer of 2 Peter drew upon Jude, yet Jude 17, 18 appears to be a direct reference to 2 Peter 3:2, 3. If this is so, the priority of 2 Peter would be an evidence for its apostolic authorship. However, this argument cannot be urged in proof of the authenticity of 2 Peter, for the exact relationship between the two epistles has not been settled.

Although the arguments against the authenticity of 2 Peter are serious when viewed on purely scientific grounds, they cannot be considered as proofs. And when the claims of the book itself are considered from a spiritual standpoint, those claims give strong reason for rejecting any theory of postapostolic authorship, particularly when many of the apparent problems connected with the Petrine authorship of this epistle can be explained successfully.

Revelation.—In the middle of the 3d century, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, issued a work in which he maintained that the Revelation was written by a John other than the apostle (see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* vii. 25. 7–27). His arguments have had wide currency among those scholars who reject the apostolic authorship of the Revelation.

Dionysius pointed out that the vocabulary and literary style of the Revelation is strikingly different from that of the Gospel according to John. Revelation shows an unusual amount of liberty with the ordinary standards of Greek diction and syntax, whereas the language of the Gospel of John is regular.

Dionysius also emphasized the fact that in the Revelation the author gives his name repeatedly (see Rev. 1:1, 4, 9; 22:8), but that in the Gospel its author makes an effort to conceal his identity. Such a situation he felt could point only to different authorship.

Since Dionysius' time it has also been pointed out that the 2d-century Church Father Papias, as quoted by Eusebius (*ibid.*, iii. 39. 4), seems to indicate that about the end of the 1st century there were two men named John who were prominent in the church, one the apostle and the other the elder (see 2 John 1; 3 John 1). Eusebius and many scholars since

his time have been inclined to believe that the latter of these, John the elder, was the author of the Revelation.

Still a further argument centers on a tradition that John the apostle died a martyr's death several decades before the end of the 1st century, when the Revelation quite clearly was written.

When the foregoing arguments are analyzed, they are found not to be as weighty as at first they may seem. As for the question of linguistic differences between the Revelation and the Gospel, it must be pointed out that these two books themselves imply that they were written under very different circumstances. When writing the Revelation, John was a prisoner on the island of Patmos; the Greek of this book is clearly in harmony with its having been written under such circumstances, for it reflects the work of a man who, while able to express himself forcefully, was not writing in his mother tongue. Repeatedly Semitic thought patterns may be seen behind the Greek of the Revelation, and in a few instances the real sense of the writer apparently is to be had only by translating the Greek into Hebrew or Aramaic. Perhaps most significant of all, the language of Revelation demonstrates a number of departures from standard grammatical and syntactical usage that would not normally have appeared in a literary work.

On the other hand, the Gospel is grammatically correct. Two explanations of this problem are possible. First, some scholars have held that the Fourth Gospel originally was written in Aramaic and later translated into the Greek. Although this view has not been successfully established, yet if true, it provides an explanation for the differences that exist between the Gospel and the Revelation. Second, there is a tradition that John wrote his Gospel, not on Patmos, but when he was at liberty. Thus he would have been able to avail himself of secretarial aid. It is not unreasonable to think that he may have relied upon the help of bilingual secretaries to translate or phrase in correct Greek the thoughts he may have expressed to them in Aramaic. The theological tone of the Gospel implies that it was intended for a cultured audience. Consequently, it is reasonable to believe that John may have used secretaries in writing his Gospel. This could adequately account for the differences that exist between the language of the Gospel and that of the Revelation.

In regard to the question of John's name being attached to the Revelation and not to the Gospel, although no final solution can be given, a reasonable explanation can be offered. The Gospel is an account of the earthly life and ministry of Jesus. It stands or falls, not upon John's testimony, but upon historical fact. Thus there was no more need for him to append his name than there was for the other Gospel writers to include theirs in their accounts of Jesus' life. But with an apocalyptic work like the Revelation the situation was different. In a prophetic work, an account of things his fellow men could not have seen as historical facts, the identity and reputation of the prophet were of primary importance. Thus, like virtually every other prophetic writer in the Bible, the author of the Revelation included his name in his book.

Although it is true that, as Eusebius quotes Papias, the latter seems to indicate that there were two Johns, nevertheless two facts must be borne in mind. First, Papias' writings are no longer extant, so that Eusebius' quotation cannot be checked against them, although presumably he quoted correctly. Second, although Papias does mention two Johns, it is not clear from Eusebius' quotation whether they are indeed references to two men, or only two references to one man. Thus while it cannot be denied categorically

that there were not two prominent Christians named John at the end of the 1st century, neither can it be proved.

On the question of whether John the apostle lived long enough to have written the Revelation, it must be recognized that the tradition to the effect that he died long before the end of the 1st century is based largely on inferences and arguments from silence, rather than upon clear positive evidence. In fact, Justin Martyr (died c. A.D. 165; *Dialogue* 81), Irenaeus (died c. A.D. 202; *Heresies* iv. 20. 11; v. 35. 2), Tertullian (died c. A.D. 230; *Against Marcion* iii. 14), Hippolytus (died c. A.D. 236; *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* xxxvi), and Origen (died c. A.D. 254; *Commentary on John* i. 14) all understood the Revelation to have been written by John the apostle, and it is not until the criticism of Dionysius in the middle of the 3d century that any orthodox Christian writer raised a question as to the apostolic authorship of the Revelation.

Thus there is no convincing reason for rejecting the view that the Revelation was written by John the apostle, and the belief of the early church was distinctly in that direction.

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there is a legitimate, as well as a destructive, higher criticism. Legitimate criticism seeks to take all that linguistic, literary, historical, and archeological study has proved in regard to the Bible, and to use this in determining the approximate dates of writing, the probable authors, where the authors' names are not stated, the conditions under which they wrote, and the materials they used in their writing. But for the Christian who accepts the Scriptures as spiritually trustworthy to declare a book of the Bible to be pseudepigraphical is to say that it contains a palpably false statement regarding its own origin. Such conclusions go beyond the limits of legitimate criticism, as it is understood by this commentary.

While it may not be possible at present to disprove, convincingly, all the claims of destructive criticism, two important facts must be borne in mind. First, that the general trend of Biblical criticism for the last half century has been increasingly in the direction of the conservative position, which accepts the claims of Scripture for itself. This is not to say that modern archeological discovery and linguistic study have disproved all the arguments against the authenticity of the Bible, but it is a fact that they have made significant contributions toward refuting many of the more extreme criticisms. Second, it must be recognized that the great majority of critical arguments against the authenticity of the Bible stand only as unproved hypotheses. Although it is not possible categorically to disprove many of these, neither can they be proved, and it is usually possible to offer positive explanations of the problems that seemingly might militate against the authenticity of the Scripture. In such a situation the burden of final proof rests upon the critic who would disavow that which the Bible claims for itself, and as such proof is not forthcoming, the conservative Christian is justified in continuing to believe that the plain statements of the different books of the Bible regarding their authorship are trustworthy.

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